THE

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

PREFACE.

THE following pages contain the final reports on the survey of the south of Palestine, with accounts of Masada, Gaza, Gerar, the Shefalah, Gath, Adullam, Keilah, Ascalon, Ashdod, the Crusading sites, the caves, and Roman camps. The papers written by Lieutenant Conder and M. Clermont-Ganneau, separately, on the site of Adullam, will be found, between them, to give everything that can be urged in favour of a site whose identification, if it be accepted, will remove many difficulties.

The survey of western Palestine, which has occupied the Committee for four years and a half, now approaches completion. It is calculated that another year's work in the country will finish it completely. The work of the Americans will be fitted in to our own, and the whole may be expected to be published in the course of the next three years. As yet nothing has been decided as to the manner of publication.

In April last the Committee asked for £3,500 before the end of the year. One-third of this sum has already been received

since that date. Perhaps subscribers will remember that the summer months are comparatively barren, and that those who forward their subscriptions at once are helping the Committee to tide over the dead season. A great part of the debt has already been cleared, and the Committee look confidently to work it off completely before the end of the year.

NOTES.

While desiring to give every publicity to proposed identifications by officers of the Fund, the Committee beg it to be distinctly understood that they leave such proposals to be discussed on their own merits, and that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* the Committee do not sanction or adopt them.

Annual subscribers are earnestly requested to forward their subscriptions for the current year at their *earliest convenience* and without waiting for application. It is best to cross all cheques to Coutts and Co., and if so crossed they may be safely left payable to bearer.

The Committee are always grateful for the return of old numbers of the *Quarterly Statement*, especially those which are advertised as out of print.

At a meeting of the General Committee held on June 22nd, 1875, Mr. William Longman in the chair, the following were added to the General Committee :—

The President of the American Association.
Rev. Dr. Joseph Barclay.
Mr. John Cunliffe.
Rev. F. W. Farrar, D.D.
M. Clermont-Ganneau.
Mr. Holman Hunt.
General Sir Henry James.
Mr. F. Leighton, R.A.

Mr. Henry Maudslay.
Sir Charles Nicholson.
Herr Petermann.
Viscount Sandon.
Dr. Sandreczky.

It was also resolved that the Executive Committee should in future all resign at the annual meeting of the General Committee in June.

The following gentlemen were then elected from the General Committee, to serve as an Executive Committee for 1875-76 :—

Mr. S. Birch, LL.D.
Mr. J. D. Crace.
Mr. W. Hepworth Dixon.
Professor Donaldson.
Mr. F. A. Eaton.
Mr. Glaisher.
Mr. William Longman.
Mr. Henry Maudslay.
Rev. Canon Tristram.
Mr. W. S. W. Vaux, F.R.S.
Capt. Warren, R.E.
Major Wilson, R.E.

The honorary officers were re-elected.

The amount received from all sources from March 22nd to June 30th was £950 5s. 7d. The balance of current account at the latter date was £320 10s.

In the last *Quarterly Statement*, page 61, it was stated that the amount received from *June* 1st to March 22nd was £1,439 14s. 5d.; it should have been from *January* 1st.

M. Ganneau's paper has been unavoidably delayed in publication. It is expected to appear in the August number of *Macmillan's Magazine*.

The second American expedition is now (July 7th) in London on its way to Syria. It is commanded by Colonel S. Lane, who has with him the Rev. Selah Merrill, Mr. Treat, and Mr. Rudolph Meyer.

At Beyrout his party will be increased by the accession of a photographer. The graduated students of the Syrian Protestant College will act as his Arabic interpreters. The tract of country which Colonel Lane proposes to triangulate reaches from the south of the Dead Sea to Damascus, and has an average width of forty miles. He considers that two years will suffice for the completion of his survey.

Ladies desirous of joining the Ladies' Association are requested to communicate with Mrs. Finn, The Elms, Brook Green, London, W.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

HELD AT THE ROYAL INSTITUTION, 10TH JUNE, 1875.

HIS GRACE THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK IN THE CHAIR.

The CHAIRMAN: I call upon Mr. George Grove to read the Report.

Mr. GROVE read the Report as follows:—

"The Committee rejoice in being enabled to report a year of uninterrupted progress and thoroughly sound work.

"The archæological mission of M. Clermont-Ganneau, for which his services had been granted for one year by the French Foreign Office, terminated in November last, when he returned to Europe.

"Reports of his labours were published as they arrived in the *Quarterly Statements* of the Fund; these will now be re-written and published in a single volume, which the Committee hope to issue in the autumn of the present year, when the importance of his discoveries will be fully recognised.

"The present work of the Committee consists wholly of the survey.

"A heavy loss was sustained last year in the lamentable death of Mr. Tyrwhitt Drake, which took place on the very day of the Annual Meeting. His place has been taken by Lieut. H. H. Kitchener, of the Royal Engineers.

"The party now consists of Lieuts. Conder and Kitchener, Corporals Armstrong, Brophy, and Junor, with a Syrian scribe.

"Field work was resumed in October in the hill country south of Judah, a little known and most important part of Palestine. It was interrupted for a short time by the extremely severe weather of January, but, by the last account received a few days ago, the Committee are enabled to report that in spite of this drawback the whole of the south country, including Philistia, with the exception of a very small area, is now completely triangulated. Fifteen hundred square miles have been added to the map since the last meeting. The survey has not been confined to map-making alone. Among the more important identifications proposed or confirmed by Lieut. Conder are those of the Hill of Hachilah, the Rock of Maon, Zanoah, Arab, Maarath, Chozeba, Beth Zetho, the Levitical City of Debir, the Cave of Adullam, the Tower of Ader, the Forest of Hareth, the Wood of Ziph, the Altar of Ed, the Ford of Bethabara, and many others. Some idea of the work done by the surveying party may be gathered from the facts that during the spring campaign alone 1,000 square miles have been surveyed, and 1,067 names, a very large number of which were previously unknown, have been collected.

"Further, Lieut. Conder reports in his last letter thirty new identifications, the details of which he reserves until he has been able to consult books. It will be understood that such archæological results as are obtained in the course of exhausting labours in triangulation must not be taken as part of the duty which the officers are sent out to execute, so much as additional proofs, if any were needed, of their zeal and ability. The real work for which Lieuts. Conder and Kitchener are responsible is the great map of Palestine.

"Two of the most valuable discoveries of the year are due to M. Clermont-Ganneau. The first of these is that of the boundary of Gezer. He has found *in situ*, and absolutely for the first time, the actual inscriptions marking the limits of a Levitical city. There are two of these, carved on the rock, in Greek and square Hebrew, and pointing probably to a Maccabean date, which contain the word Gezer precisely as it is written in the Bible. Casts of the inscriptions have been sent to England, and a full account of this precious contribution to Biblical research will be found in M. Ganneau's new volume. This discovery is the more interesting as it confirms the theory which M. Ganneau had already advanced on the site of Gezer. The fact, also, that the name of the place is still Tell Jezer, furnishes another illustration of the vitality of Bible names. The second discovery is that of the city of Adullam. The name had been found and the place visited by M. Ganneau in 1871, and again in 1874. It was first mentioned in Captain Burton's "Unexplored Syria" (1873). Lieut. Conder has now, acting on M. Ganneau's information, visited and examined the site in the course of the survey.

"The identification of the Altar of Ed must not be passed over. This most striking recovery of a site mentioned only once in the Bible, and belonging almost to the earliest history of the Hebrew race, is entirely due to Lieut. Conder. Full particulars have already been published.

"The total area surveyed up to this time reaches the amount of 4,430 square miles, leaving some 1,500 miles still to be filled in. To this must be added the reconnaisance of the Negeb or south country, on the completion of which the survey of Western Palestine will be finished. The Committee can now with reasonable confidence promise that a complete and exhaustive map of the whole of Western Palestine—including, that is, nine-tenths of the scenes of the Bible narrative—will be brought to England in the autumn of 1876 and given to the world about a year later.

"This invaluable and enduring work will be the result of the subscriptions of private individuals united by the one common bond of being students of the Bible; it will be completed without State aid, and once finished will be a work for all time absolutely indispensable to every future student of the Bible. As the survey approaches completion the Committee feel more deeply thankful, not only that the necessary funds have been subscribed by their friends, but also that it has been carried on without hindrance or opposition, and up to the present time without any serious check.

"The Committee of the American Association are now sending out

their second expedition. It will be commanded by Colonel Lane, who will have under his orders Herr Rudolph Meyer, of Hamburg, as assistant surveyor, and the Rev. Selah Merrill as archæologist. The New York Committee have set aside the sum of £6,000 to meet the expenses for the two years which, it is believed, the survey of Moab and the country east of Jordan will require. It is worthy of remark that whereas most of our income is derived from one-guinea subscribers, the larger part of the money raised by the American Society has been subscribed by leading New York merchants.

"The Committee have to report that a special effort has been made in Manchester to raise the sum of £500, more than half of which, by the liberality of the residents in that city, has been already forwarded to the London office. The expenses of one man, Corporal Junor, will be wholly defrayed by the Manchester subscribers.

"The income of the Fund since the last annual meeting has been up to this morning, from all sources, £4,179 18s. 11d., and the amount received since the 1st of January is £2,163 4s. 5d., being £550 more than that subscribed up to the same date of last year. The cost of the expeditions in Palestine has been £3,500.

"The Committee have realised during the year, by the sale of their books and publications, the sum of £160. They have just published the eighth edition of their small popular book called 'Our Work in Palestine.'

"The present year was commenced under a heavy load of debt but a diminished expenditure. About half of the liabilities have been already cleared off.

"Among the donations received within the last twelve months must be specially mentioned those of the British Association, the Syrian Improvement Committee, Mr. Charles Morrison, the Grocers' Company, and an anonymous donor whose initals are "G. M. E." These have each given £100 to the Fund. Dr. Peter Wood, Miss Chafyn Grove, and the Mercers' Company, have also given £50 and 50 guineas respectively.

"The Edinburgh Local Association has sent £100, Leeds £65, and Newark (an association of ladies) £77, and smaller sums have been received from other Local Associations.

"To these donors, to the city companies, to the hon. secretaries who have given their personal exertions to the cause, and to all their friends and subscribers, the Committee desire to express their most sincere thanks."

The CHAIRMAN: My Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is not my fault that I occupy this chair again this year. It would have been much more in accordance with my feelings if I could have made way for some worthier person instead of occupying this responsible post. I have no pretension to be connected with the inner working of this Society, for I feel myself rather in this position to represent the figure-head of the ship, while Mr. Grove may be likened to the engine that gives it its rapidity and successful motion. At the same time, in zeal for the

objects of this Fund, I yield to none. No member of this Association watches its proceedings with a greater wish for its success than I do myself. I am obliged to repeat what I have said in former years, because it is necessary for the chairman to say something of the general purposes of the Association. I have, however, first to mention that I have received a letter from that venerable man, Sir Moses Montefiore, who regrets his inability to attend the meeting, and I have also a letter from the Rev. William Wright, who was advertised to speak at this meeting, but who finds he cannot attend. I shall presently give way to the Earl of Shaftesbury, and no one is more fully entitled to speak to a meeting of this kind than the President of the Bible Society, because we are in our way a kind of Bible Society. We have also to-day to welcome the Rev. Dr. Barclay, who for many years lived at Jerusalem, and who there welcomed and assisted our explorers to the utmost of his power. We have also the presence of Captain Burton, who has been our Consul at Damascus, a gentleman whom it would be impertinent in me to praise, whose reputation is of European growth, and who, I am sure, does not require a word of mine to introduce to you. We have, moreover, to welcome the Rev. Horrocks Cocks, who has paid great attention to this subject. I will now proceed to discharge my duty in the best way in my power. This Society was instituted some years ago for the purpose of increasing our knowledge of the Holy Land, and at our first meeting it was surprising to listen to the testimony of people representing almost every field of human knowledge to the effect that we knew very little about the Holy Land. Many had visited it, and a great deal of excellent and accurate work had been done, and if I were permitted to lift my hand I could point out some of the principal explorers in that sacred country. But they found that they could do but little. The work of exploration in Palestine is attended with great expense, great risk to health and life, if continued month after month and year after year; and it was found that there must be some organisation with a good long purse in the background, so that when one investigator is weary another might be found to take his place. I am obliged to say it is not merely that weariness may overtake them, but sometimes they sink under their exertions. Only a year ago Mr. Tyrwhitt Drake, as you know, lost his life in our cause. The Society whose claims we are now considering takes its origin from the meeting I refer to, and there is no cause, on the whole, to say that we have been unsuccessful in the high task we then proposed to ourselves. It is very true that persons who do not accurately attend to the subject might have expected greater and more sudden results; not those who did give attention to it, and who knew the country, because they knew that the work would necessarily lie underground, and that work of this kind is necessarily slow and difficult; and as Sir Henry Rawlinson said at one of our meetings, our explorers are not always very welcome to householders in that country. I am sure we can well understand that, for if I knew that a gentleman was burrowing 100 feet under York Minster, it is very probable that I should wish to

go down myself and put a stop to his operations; and we find that persons in Jerusalem take the same line of action. We have done a good deal of exploration in Jerusalem itself. Those among you who have looked at our *Quarterly Statements* and the Reports of Major Wilson and Captain Warren, and particularly the book called "The Recovery of Jerusalem," must have come to the conclusion that a great deal has been done by this Society in the way of actual exploration. But we have for the last three years turned our attention in another direction—namely, to the survey of the country of Palestine. We depart somewhat from our original undertaking about the poetry and romance of exploration, in comparison with which a survey of the land is a most prosaic thing. The signification of the names of places, and putting them upon the map, would appear to be no better or worse than going on our own hill-tops and making an ordnance survey of England. Nevertheless, I may appeal to every geographer and man of science whether we have not taken the right line in endeavouring to get a great work completed upon which many future discoveries might be hung. And here, to our general astonishment, we find that we had a great deal to do. The outer black line shown upon that map on the wall marks out what has been already *triangulated*. There is a little portion at the bottom which has not yet been done, but all the rest is as correctly laid down as our own ordnance survey of England. Now, I do say this is the very work for the people of England to undertake. The people of England have done more for the Bible than any other people in the world. They have circulated more copies over the face of the earth, and I believe they have read it more than any other people; and, if so, our going on to pay attention to the scene or stage upon which the great events recorded in the Bible transpired was a natural and logical proceeding on our part. We pride ourselves on being a logical people, and on a belief that no obstacles can daunt us. If there is a mountain higher than the rest in all the world, half a dozen Englishmen will be sure to be climbing up it. If there is ever an expedition involving some kind of danger in it, an Englishman is sure to volunteer to go upon it. It was said that people could not be found to go in the Arctic Expedition which has recently left our shores, but it was soon found that there were not only plenty of volunteers well qualified for the work, but others who it was thought would not be able to survive the rigors of the climate, and who were rejected on that account. And in like manner we have gone in for this Survey of Palestine. I will admit that it has cost a great deal of money, and people may say, "Oh, your box of ointment might have been sold for a great deal and given to the poor, and there are many things that you might have given your money for which would have been better than that." But I do not admit that argument. It is always used in the wrong place, and by the wrong people. It is used by those who wish to give to the poor, but it is not as if there was only one purse. The wealth of the earth is great, and the wealth of the people of England is enormous, and the wealth we have drawn from it is not worth mentioning. What is the money spent for a purpose like

this to the honour and glory of the people of England. What is it to the 130 millions of money which they spend for their drink every year? But I approach the subject from a totally different side. So far from taking money from higher and better objects, if higher and better there be, it is taken for the purpose of increasing our interest in that religion which we profess, and to which we belong, and to give a higher aim and open fresh sources to our benevolence, so that the poor will still take the benefit of our exertions, and a purer tone of thought will be created about these things. Therefore on that score I have not the slightest sympathy with the objectors to our proceedings. We are striving to get a rich nation, which is spending thousands and thousands on its amusements, to spend a little in order to put on record an object worthy of the nation. But we are no monopolists. Every man, whatever his profession or religion may be, or whatever country he belongs to, may co-operate with us. It is true that an archbishop of the English Church occupies the chair of your Committee, but on that Committee are members of the most various denominations, and there is only one qualification for a supporter of this Fund, that he shall feel an interest in the land of the Bible, and a desire to promote a knowledge of that land. With regard to other nations, I may remind you that while we are exploring Palestine on one side of Jordan, the Americans are exploring it on the other side. And we have here a proof of what I wish to draw your attention to, and that is the power we have to raise up an interest in the subject in others who have not yet taken an interest in it. Here are two great peoples busy in exploring Palestine. America is a younger sister of England, and, I say it with great respect, perhaps a little emulous of her elder sister; but she does not sit down and grumble at what we are doing, she wishes to take a share in our work, and, in fact, we are working in entire harmony; and when the question was asked about the copyright of the map which we shall produce together, it was answered immediately that there is not the slightest reason to suppose that our American brethren will offer any difficulty in that respect. That is, of course, very delightful, and it will do a great deal of good in every way. I have a little sheet here, issued by Mr. Henry Maudslay, who has been exploring at his own expense, which is most valuable and important; and I dare say Mr. Maudslay would admit that the fact of our having paid attention to the subject turned his own attention to it: so that, besides the work we do ourselves, we stimulate enterprise and interest in this direction, and I have no doubt we shall in time have a great many explorations going on besides our own. With regard to this Survey of Palestine, it may be supposed after all that there is very little to do beyond the triangulation of well-known sites. I do not pretend to give an explanation of the operations of surveying, but I know it is a great organised system of research, and that it requires the very closest research. It is all very well for a policeman to walk up and down Regent Street, but that is a very different thing from a house-to-house visitation and exploration of the lanes and alleys adjoining it. We have to search

in every hole and corner of the country and see what is there, and classify everything in proper form. We know that in the best maps of Palestine eight fords of the Jordan are marked, but we have ascertained that there are about fifty across the river. What is topography if it does not give the roads and passages across the country? Upon the whole, not to detain you longer, our object is to know Palestine through and through, to work with every one who will assist us; and our reason for turning to Palestine is that Palestine is our country. I have used that expression before, and I refuse to adopt any other. That is my country, which has given me the laws by which I try to live—which has given me the best knowledge I possess—that is my country, to which I look for rules in the conduct of my life—in which has dwelt my King and my Lord. England is my country, I know it and feel it, but Palestine also is my country. I am sure you all know and feel as I do, and that is the reason you take such an interest in the quiet work of this excellent Society. (Cheers.) I have now great pleasure in calling upon the Earl of Shaftesbury to move the first resolution. (Cheers.)

The Right Hon. the EARL of SHAFTESBURY, K.G.:—May it please your Grace, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It has always appeared to me a matter of great wonder in past times that men did not rush by common consent into the exploration of the Holy Land; but since the discoveries which have been made, and the certainty of greater treasures which are yet to be developed, I am perfectly astonished that our Report should only represent an income of about £4,000 a year—and as to those antagonists of this Society who complain of the waste of money which we expend on foreign objects, I repudiate it altogether. Gentlemen of that kind might well be informed of the advice which Bishop Stanley, of Norwich, gave me many years ago. He was often pestered by similar remarks, but he said, "Whenever I give a guinea to go across the water, I give a guinea to be spent on this side of it." These are convenient arguments which cover parsimony under a pretext of discrimination. I have not in this matter any great geographical or antiquarian knowledge; though I have a strong antiquarian feeling on the subject. I have always considered this question upon a broader basis, and therefore this resolution is one of the most satisfactory I ever moved in my life, although the words in which it is expressed are somewhat too weak to express my feelings:—It is "That this meeting cordially approves of the action of the Committee, and pledges itself to use every effort to carry the survey to a successful termination." Now, *approval* is much too weak a word; we ought to have one far more powerful to express what we feel. And then, as to the successful termination of our work, we must use a stronger expression than that we *pledge ourselves* to bring this about. Let us not delay to instruct our friend the Hon. Secretary, Mr. Grove, to send out the best agents he has in his power to search the length and breadth of Palestine, to survey the land; and if possible to go over every corner of it, drain it, measure it, and, if you will, prepare it for the return of its ancient possessors, for I must believe that the time cannot be far off

before that great event will come to pass. We have there a land teeming with fertility and rich in history, but almost without an inhabitant—a country without a people, and look! scattered over the world, a people without a country. I recollect speaking to Lord Aberdeen, when he was Prime Minister, on the subject of the Holy Land; and he said to me, "If the Holy Land should pass out of the hands of the Turks, into whose hands should it fall?" Why, the reply was ready, "Not into the hands of other powers, but let it return into the hands of the Israelites," and surely there are signs to show that the time is near at hand when the Lord will have mercy upon Zion. I had once a conversation with that grand old Hebrew, Sir Moses Montefiore, now in his ninety-first year, but yet on the point of starting again on a pilgrimage of mercy. I had a conversation with him a few years ago, and we entered upon the whole subject of the Jewish question. A more liberal-hearted man does not exist on the face of the earth. I see in him a concentration of the spirit of the Maccabees. "The future of the Holy Land," he said, "is this: Give us security for life and property, and the Jews will return and take possession of their ancient territory." I have had letters to a similar purport from the Bishop of Jerusalem, who will no doubt confirm what I say. The number of Jews who have already returned to their land is considerable. Villas are growing up in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, they are occupied by Jews, and I hear that there is manifested a great inclination among the Jews in all parts of the South and the East for their return to the Holy Land, whenever they are assured that the Turkish Government will be not only able but willing to carry into effect the measures which have been ratified in their behalf. I do not wish, far from it, to disparage the labours of those men who hitherto have been engaged in the exploration of Palestine. On the contrary, I am astonished at the skill, diligence, and ability they have manifested, and I feel that everything they have added to our knowledge of the country is so much added to our knowledge of revealed truth, and, therefore, their exertions are to be spoken of with the highest gratitude and esteem. But I cannot help saying that we want to go much farther than the point they have reached. We may be told that we are impatient, and that we are not prosaic enough. I admit all that, and yet I cannot restrain myself, when I have such an object before me, from a desire to go into the matter deeper and deeper, so that not the coasts only, but the very bed of the River Jordan, should be explored; but, more than all, do I want to get, where we shall get at last, into the Mosque of Omar itself, and dive down into the cellars and recesses which are excavated in that limestone rock. I have heard from Jews, living on tradition as they do—and some of their traditions are well-founded—that the Ark of the Covenant is yet to be found there. They know that it was never taken away—there is, at least, no record of it—either in the time of Nebuchadnezzar or of Titus. Then, how could it disappear? The priests regarded it as the holiest of all their treasures; they hid it in some hour of peril in the vaults of the rock on which the Temple was built.

The priests who did it, so runs the belief, were slain in the siege, and the secret perished with them. At any rate, it is well worth our looking for; and if it could be brought to light—that grand old Ark of the Covenant—good heavens! what a discovery it would be! What an evidence in a day of trouble, of rebuke, and of blasphemy! This is particularly an age in which all our thoughts, and the whole of our hearts, are given to the present, indifferent to the past, and regardless of the future; but if we can bring men's minds to look back with reverence to days gone by, we shall, as Dr. Johnson says, have advanced somewhat in the dignity of thinking beings; and it might create in the minds of many people that strong desire expressed in the happy and burning words of old Moses, "Lord, I pray thee let me pass over and see that good land," that goodly mountain, and Lebanon. I can only say that such feelings have passed through my own heart thousands and thousands of times. My old age is on this point not much tamer than my early life, nor am I singular, for I believe you will find, among the great mass of our people, thousands who read and love their Bibles, and who have a burning affection for that land, over whose "acres walked those blessed feet which eighteen hundred years ago were nailed, for our advantage, to the bitter Cross." It is somewhat remarkable the passion which people in my own county of Dorsetshire have for Hebrew names, so delighted are they to be connected with the Old Testament. Thus, in my little churchyard, there is a tombstone, which I have often shown to strangers, with this inscription: "To the memory of Methuselah Coney, who died at the age of twelve months." The love they have of Bible names neglects all consistency. Who would speak in disparagement of the antiquities of Mexico, of Greece, or Rome? but none of these can lead us to the sentiment which must be derived from the antiquities of Palestine, to the sanctifying effect of such researches, and which must excite solemn and reverential feelings in the heart of man. I may be speaking only my own sentiments, you may perhaps not all sympathise with me, but if so, I can only apologise for warmth of expressions which come from the depths of my own heart; and I cannot stand forward to move a resolution of this sort without saying thus much. And here, to conclude, I wear upon my finger something which hourly reminds me of these truths. When Dr. Alexander, the first bishop of Jerusalem, himself a Hebrew, went to the Holy City, he found one man, and one man only, who was cunning to engrave. That one man presented to him a small square bloodstone, which you see here on my finger, very rudely carved. Knowing the zeal I felt in the welfare of Israel, he sent it to me in a letter, and I have had it set, and wear it in a ring, which I hope to transmit to my posterity. On that stone is engraven—and I may point it out as a ground of union between us and the poorest Hebrews, though they believe but one half of the Bible—you will concur with me in the prayer which is engraved upon it—it will, I trust, be the prayer of all this assembly—"Oh, pray for the peace of Jerusalem; they shall prosper that love thee." (Cheers.)

The Rev. Dr. BARCLAY:—My Lord Archbishop, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—When the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund did me the honour of inviting me to second this resolution, I naturally turned over in my mind what I ought to say, and a story flashed across my memory, which was once told me by a clerical friend of mine. Many years since, some friends of his were travelling in Palestine, and he directed a letter to one of them in Jerusalem. Two months elapsed, but he received no answer. Another month passed by, and there was still no answer. He then went to the village post-office, and asked the post-mistress if she had seen such a letter. After thinking the matter over, she said, "Oh yes, that is the letter I have upon the shelf. I have not posted it, because I knew Jerusalem was a place in the Bible, but I did not think it was a place on earth." The schoolmaster has been abroad since then, but people are not altogether so wise as they should be now. Five years ago I was living with my family in Jerusalem, in which holy city some of my children were born; and there were people who saw them afterwards, not perhaps with disappointment, but with surprise that they were not born black. Now, the Americans have done much to spread the Bible abroad, and we cannot know too much about its history and geography. When an American minister proves to be a useful man to his congregation, they put apart a certain sum of money to send him to Palestine, on the condition of his writing to them a series of letters describing what he sees: and they consider that money has been well invested, for they feel that a religious teacher ought to be stored with information. But the majority of book writers cannot speak the language of the country when they get to Palestine, and they are therefore cut off from information, and are obliged to rely upon their dragomen. These men are very polite, and give them every information they think they desire, but the Arabs sum up their position by saying that "unless a man speaks the language of the country he is in danger of dying of starvation." All the information we have got respecting Palestine does not satisfy the increased desire for further enlightenment on this important subject; and we especially want an accurate Ordnance map and survey of the whole country. Some people have an imaginary Palestine of their own, and do not want to go too much into detail about it. I have met with clergymen who have declined to visit Palestine because their minds are so made up about its geography that they do not wish to be disturbed in their ideas. Such persons have a paradise of their own, in which they live, but we want men who are competent to seek after truth, and they cannot seek after truth in a better land than Palestine. It is the whole earth in miniature, for while you have perpetual snow on the summit of Lebanon, you have, perhaps, the hottest spot on earth in the neighbourhood of the Dead Sea. In the mountains and valleys, also, we have a variety of climates, which are not met with anywhere else. All animals can live there; all plants can grow there; and a ride of a few miles will take you to another atmo-

sphere. Besides, Palestine is a special object of interest to the devout mind. When you turn to the Bible you find it said, "It is a land the Lord thy God careth for; the eyes of the Lord thy God are always upon it from the beginning of the year even unto the end of the year." "Careth for," in this passage means "seeketh after," and consequently it ought to be an object of interest to us. I am sure that underlying this movement there is a desire to know more and more of Palestine, and it is with this object that different explorations have been made in different parts of the country. I remember, by the kind permission of Captain Warren, going down the shafts which were sunk under Jerusalem, and particularly under the south-eastern wall of the Haram enclosure, and I shall never forget the wonderful feeling I experienced in seeing the red-paint marks upon the stones, as fresh as if the workmen had just left them. I felt as if Hiram and Solomon were quite close to me. When we investigated the fallen arch in the Tyropœon valley, we searched the court pavement for the ruts of the carriage wheels of ancient times, and it brought before us vividly the scene when the Temple was in flames, and Titus was standing in the outer court expostulating with the Jews and entreating them to spare the upper town. In exploring Jerusalem, my Lord Shaftesbury has touched upon one important point. We have still to get under the Mosque of Omar. I do not think the arguments I have heard, and which his Grace has alluded to, are valid ones. There is under the "Dome of the Rock" a place with a slab laid over the entrance, and if we could lift that up and let a man down, we might make important discoveries. I have often remonstrated with the keepers of the mosque, and tried from time to time to induce them to let me go down, but the answer was, "My beloved, we love you too much to let you do that; we do not know what might occur to you. There was once a sultan from Egypt who went into the Cave of Machpelah, and there he saw Sarah sitting up combing her hair, and she struck him blind." "Well," I replied, "you have more concern for me than I have for myself." "Even so, my beloved," was the reply. There is, however, still another work to be done in Jerusalem, and that is the exploration of the second wall. Captain Warren made some excavations in this direction, but he could not find the continuation of the wall. But, twelve years ago, I was commissioned to build a house in Jerusalem, and the plans were sent out to me from England. It was to be built on the northern slope of Mount Zion. We excavated to the depth of 39 feet, and could not find a foundation; but after a time we came upon the remains of an old tower, in what we thought was the wall. I had neither the means nor the time to engage further in the exploration, but we made it into a cistern to contain rain-water. But, even supposing that to be the second wall, it would only obviate one objection to the Holy Sepulchre, it would not prove the genuineness of the present site. Time would fail me to allude further to these excavations; but it is most interesting to

think of any spot on which our Lord stood. The question is often asked, "Can you show us, amid all these traditions, any place where our Lord stood?" Now, as you go out to Bethany there is a road on the hill-side, cut in the solid rock; an old Roman pavement remains there now, and a gentleman of eminence and knowledge of this question rode out with me upon this road, and when we came to the spot where our Lord must have passed, he said, "I cannot ride over that place: will you hold my horse?" and he walked over it. I hope, by the exertions of this Society, we shall arrive at a true solution of the dimensions of the Jewish cubit. With regard to the other discoveries which have been made there is specially that one of the Moabite stone, which I look upon as a page from Josephus himself. And, with regard to Josephus, I may say that I went to Palestine with a prejudice against that author, but I have tested him, so far as his topography is concerned, and have found it correct, and therefore my estimate of his accuracy has been increased a hundredfold. The more we investigate these things the more we shall be able to realise the facts of our religion, for it is a system of facts. Before I sit down I will venture to express what I think is the feeling of all Bible scholars, that we owe the greatest gratitude to Sir Henry James and his officers for the work they have done in Sinai. We have now established without doubt the site of the giving of the Law. What we wish done for Palestine is the same that was done for Mount Sinai; but we must not forget that this is expensive work, and that we want money. There is not only the cost in money, but the wear and tear of human life. Some of our explorers have given their lives to this work and are now sleeping their last sleep there till the roll-call of the Great Captain; and others may have to suffer in the work. It is a very difficult thing to make explorations amongst old ruins, but the men selected to do the work of this Society have been the right men in the right place. They have felt their responsibility, and they have done their duty. Everywhere throughout the world people are now waiting for the result of this Survey, and I have no doubt the speech of the noble Earl this day will find a response, for it is written, "Thy servants take pleasure in her stones, and favour the dust thereof." (Cheers.) I have great pleasure in seconding the resolution.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

Capt. R. BURTON: Your Grace, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—Almost at the last moment your excellent Secretary, my good friend Mr. Walter Besant, sent me an "immediate" inviting me to speak about the trans-Jordanic region, and gave me the following resolution:

"That this meeting has heard with great satisfaction of the despatch of a second expedition by the American Association for the exploration of the Holy Land, and heartily wishes it every possible success."

As this meeting well knows, that part of Syria has been the happy hunting ground of your Anglo-American colleagues, who propose continuing their researches. They will doubtless prove formidable rivals

in the extent and value of their discoveries. The invitation so kindly conveyed orders me to renew a great sorrow. I had, as early as 1870, proposed to myself two trans-Jordanic trips. The first was to the great plateau of central Arabia, known as El Nejd, on a line a little north of that taken by Mr. Gifford Palgrave, whose charming book is in the hands of every one. But his geography is perhaps the loosest on record; he gives us no intelligible account of the mysterious region El Jauf, or the "hollow," an exceptional feature which, from the reports of the Bedawin, I am disposed to consider a great meridional depression corresponding in lay and length with the Jordan Valley, but wanting the river. To this feature especially I would draw the attention of our future travellers. The picturesque pages of Mr. Palgrave give no notice of the Roman, or rather the classical ruins which are said to extend from the Haurán to the highlands of El Nejd. I have often been assured of their existence by the Bedawin, who compared them with the Kasr el Hayr, the ruin near Karyatayn, on the way to Palmyra, and for a description of the latter I venture to refer you to Mrs. Burton's book, "Inner Life in Syria." The walls are reported to be "mukattab," that is, covered with inscriptions. The second excursion which I had kept for myself, and which I now recommend to others, is a visit to El Hijr, the district lying south-west of the Dead Sea, on the road to El Medinah. It is annually traversed by the great pilgrimage caravan which travels from Damascus to Meccah, and I had made all my arrangements to travel with the Arab chief who escorts the Tayyáreh or flying caravan sent to relieve the returning pilgrims with provisions and medical comforts. The strangest tales are told concerning El Hijr, and yet, though many have proposed visiting it, the tract remains unexplored. Thirty years ago the Ritter von Kremer, at the recommendation of that most distinguished Orientalist, Baron von Hugel, went to Damascus for the purpose, and was deterred by the large sums demanded from him. Lately at Bern, in Switzerland, I passed a couple of days with my kind friend Professor Aloys Sprenger, and we discussed at full length the wonders of El Hijr. I only hope that our Anglo-American collaborateurs will not neglect to borrow some of his local knowledge. Finally at Basel I strongly advised my young friend Prof. Socin, so well known by his travels from Damascus to the Euphrates, to attack El Hijr. He is one of the best men for explorations amongst Arabs, as he knows them thoroughly. The following two anecdotes may prove his tact and *savoir-faire*. On one occasion when a revolver was stolen from him he procured its restitution by threatening the Shaykh with a reference to Constantinople, and he punished him by the fine of a dollar by way of permit to his servant. They who know what the Bedawi thinks about a "stone dollar," as he calls it, will appreciate the just severity of the proceeding. On another occasion his escort attempted to desert him, when he cocked his rifle and declared he would shoot the first mare that moved. Had he said the first man, all would have laughed at his beard, but they thought much more seriously

about the murder of a mare. Mohammed, as many of you know, when passing through El Hijr, hooded his head, veiled his face, and hurried at full speed to escape from the phantoms which appal the sight, and the terrible voices which shriek in the wayfarer's ear. He declared it to be an accursed land, and every caravan, I am told, still follows his example. I would suggest that the idea arises from the number of statues and figures carved in the rocks. The peculiar measure of converting Damascus, the metropolis and head-quarters of Syria, from a consulate to a vice-consulate, caused my recall in 1872, and lost for me the chance of visiting the Nejd and El Hijr. But the glory of a discoverer is not the small addition to general knowledge which his individual efforts may secure; his aim is to excite emulation, and induce others to labour in the field which he has opened up. A certain book called "Unexplored Syria," has, I am told, had this effect, and has sent to Palmyra many students who before never thought of going there. The same, I hope, will be the result of a translation of Dr. Wetzstein's "Reise" to Haurán and the (two) Trachones. He describes and figures a world of ruins which is now passing away; the next generation will probably see nothing of these weird and ghostly basalt walls, which, deserted a thousand years ago and more, look as if the tenants had passed from them yesterday. These wondrous buildings, in which the hardest stone was worked like wood, are being pulled to pieces by the Druzes, and other races, to make their miserable cots. I will not call them, with the Rev. Dr. Porter, "the giant cities of Bashan"—in fact I hold, with Mr. Freshfield, that they are not "giant cities" at all. But I strongly recommend them to Colonel Lane. Another book is about to appear, and you will hail its appearance. The irreparable loss which the Palestine Exploration Fund, not to mention individuals, has sustained in the death of my lamented friend, that noble worker, Charles F. Tyrwhitt Drake, need not be enlarged upon in your presence, especially as it has been alluded to by Mr. George Grove. His widowed mother has resolved, you will be glad to hear, to publish in a collected form all those letters whose arrival in England used to be anticipated with so much eager curiosity, and read with so much pleasure and profit. *Non omnis moriar* will thus apply to the memory of that good and gallant English gentleman.

It is reported that the United States expedition has been amply provided with funds, the sinews of travel and of war, and we may believe the report, for our Anglo-American cousins never "do things by halves," as the phrase is. Their liberality contrasts strongly with the feeble support which the general public of England has bestowed upon your great undertaking; and this lukewarmness has ever been a marvel and enigma to me. We should of course have expected that in a country in which the Bible is the book most read, Bible lands would have been the most interesting on earth, and that your especial object, which is to illustrate those lands, would be the most popular of objects. You are changing careless and incorrect for highly finished maps upon a large

scale; a κτῆμα ἐς ἀεὶ—you are labouring at the geology, the botany, the archæology, and the *omnis res scibilis* of Palestine. "Sylvia's Lovers," a clever novel by Mrs. Gaskell, told me long ago that amongst the lower, that is, the uneducated classes of England, there is an idea that Biblical sites and cities like Jerusalem and Nazareth once existed, but now exist no longer; and did this idea extend to cultivated levels it would explain the curious apathy with which the vast additions to our knowledge proposed by the Palestine Exploration Fund have been received. The same, strange to say, appears to be the case with the Israelites dwelling in Europe; theoretically they take an immense interest in the homes of their forefathers—practically, it is difficult, I am assured, to unloose their purse-strings for the benefit of Judea. I have trespassed long upon the patience and courtesy of this meeting; but when wishing long life and success to the Palestine Exploration Fund, I would also express a hope that it will not consider its mission perfect when its map is published. North, south, and east of Palestine proper, there are wide regions whose inhabitants were and are still connected with it by ties of blood, and by the sympathisers of society. The country immediately about Damascus, the Lejá, the 'Alah, the Haurán, and many others, still await serious study, and this will be the work of long and laborious years. I will conclude with proposing the resolution, and with requesting this influential meeting to join me in offering our best wishes for the safety and success of Colonel Lane, the chief of the American Expedition, and his adventurous companions.

The Rev. Horrocks Cocks, of Kensington, on rising to second the resolution, expressed the great pleasure it afforded him to be present at this annual meeting. He said he presumed that one of the reasons why he had been requested to speak to the resolution so ably moved by Captain Burton was, that he had several times visited the United States and Canada, though he thought that on this question England could justly claim the co-operation of the friends of Palestine in the Dominion, and he had, therefore, endeavoured to awaken an interest in the minds of some of the leading men of Canada in the important investigations which the Committee were carrying on in the Holy Land. The United States had no hoary past to glory in, no great international questions to discuss, no York Minster, no Westminster Abbey, no grand old buildings nor ruins to boast of; but most of the problems the Americans had to solve were territorial and material, and this to some extent explained the characteristics of the Transatlantic press. Still a section of the American people were devoting their attention to Palestine, and as this Society was rather emulous of co-operation than jealous of competition, the resolution would commend itself to them for cordial adoption. Having in a very humorous manner replied to the objections of certain would-be philanthropists who maintained that the dens of London needed exploration more than the sites of Palestine, the speaker pointed to the untiring labours of the Earl of Shaftesbury in grappling with the evils of our overcrowded cities, and said that the noble Earl was quite as much

interested in foreign as in home enterprises, as indeed his speech that day indicated. The speaker said that his mind was first awakened to the claims of Palestine by the labours of Dr. Traill and Isaac Taylor, whose joint translation of Josephus he eulogised, and said that some of the plates for this important work were prepared in his own residence, though he regretted that Dr. Traill was cut off so sadly and so suddenly by disease. He felt assured that in ten years to come where ten travellers now visited the Holy Land fifty would explore the regions east and west of the Jordan, and the important work projected and accomplished by this Society would materially assist future travellers and explorers in the Eastern lands. The speaker then said that he did not think it necessary, after the admirable addresses which had been delivered, for him to detain the meeting by any speech, though if there was one theme which fired his enthusiasm, and on which he delighted to dwell, it was Palestine, and he had come prepared to speak for an hour, if necessary, upon the work which this Society had accomplished. He did not intend to dogmatise on questions of theology or prophecy, but if he might be allowed to add another article to his creed it would be—Judea for the Jews. Dwelling on this topic for a few moments, the speaker concluded by stating that the Palestine Exploration Society was carrying on a most important enterprise which challenged the sympathy and support of all Christian people. The survey which they had already accomplished was of great importance, and he predicted for the land which they were now exploring a brilliant industrial, commercial, agricultural, and spiritual future.

Mr. Grove proposed a vote of thanks to the Chairman.

Rev. G. Williams: I have great pleasure in seconding the resolution, and am glad to avail myself of the occasion of doing so to say that lately when I was staying at Oxford I had an opportunity of talking over this map of Palestine with Dr. Pusey, and I promised him that if I had the opportunity I would communicate to this meeting the very great value he attaches to the work which is being done in Palestine by this Association. No person can better appreciate the work than Dr. Pusey, and I am glad to say that it has his most entire approval and support; and I may perhaps be allowed to mention, as a hint to the Executive Committee, that many of us would, I am sure, be very glad indeed if this map could be at once taken in hand and published in parts as rapidly as those parts can be completed, and then put into a complete form perhaps two or three years hence. In the meantime many of us who are interested in the geography of Palestine are exceedingly impatient to have the results of that great work which this Society has undertaken. It is a great satisfaction to me, my Lord Archbishop, to second the vote of thanks to your Grace, who has watched with such interest the proceedings of this Society, and whose services in advocating it have been so valuable. (Cheers.)

THE SURVEY OF PALESTINE.

LIEUT. CLAUDE R. CONDER'S REPORTS.

XXXII.

BEIT JIBRIN, *20th March*, 1875.

THE SURVEY OF THE DEAD SEA DESERT, AND A VISIT TO MASADA.

THE wearisome period of indoor work which we are yearly compelled to undergo during the violent cold and wet winter weather—a time when we all suffered much in health, and which is never looked forward to with pleasure—is at length over, and I hope that only one more winter in Palestine remains to be gone through.

On the 25th February, as soon as a storm of rain and wind had subsided, we once more took the field. The expedition was cut down to the utmost, only such clothes as could be carried in the beds were allowed. Books, meteorological instruments, photographic apparatus, and one tent were left behind. Lieut. Kitchener having only just recovered from a sharp attack of fever, as well as our head servant, who has for some time past suffered very much from the effects of our hard campaign in the Jordan valley, remained in Jerusalem in order to complete the selling off of Fund property authorised by the Committee, and thus the party being reduced considerably, we managed to place our whole equipment, including barley for three days, upon twelve pack animals. The reason of this change was that we proposed, by forced marches and rapid work, to fill in the Judæan Desert from the line of Wady el Taamireh to the boundary of the trigonometrical survey at Wady Seiyal, 330 square miles in all, and as supplies were not to be obtained, nor camels to be hired in this wild district, we had to carry all we wanted with us, and it was a great object to move as rapidly as possible.

Our success was greater than we could have expected; we were not stopped by weather until quite the end of the time. In twelve days we surveyed the whole 330 square miles, settled over 200 names, and only paid about £7 in backsheesh, whereas other travellers had been obliged in fourteen days to pay as much as £30. We made a correct plan of the fortress of Masada and visited 'Ain Jidy. Thus, in spite of two days during which we were detained in Hebron by a violent storm, we succeeded in reaching our present camp in the western plain on the 11th

March. On the 13th Lieut. Kitchener re-joined, and the ordinary survey work was re-commenced.

During the whole of this period not one of the natives who accompanied us was able to speak a word of any language but Arabic—a fact which is, perhaps, worth mentioning, as showing that the party has become pretty independent in the matter of language.

The main points of Biblical interest in this area were, first, the recovery of those of the six cities in the *Midbar* or wilderness which are as yet unknown—namely, Middin, Sekakah, the City of Salt, and Nibshan, apparently all lying between Jericho and Engedi; and, in the second place, the identification of the famous cave "by the sheepcotes (Gederoth) on the way" from Engedi to the land of Benjamin, where Saul and David met on the occasion when the king came down "to seek David and his men upon the rocks of the wild goats" (1 Sam. xxiv. 2).

As regards the first our success has been indifferent; with the exception of Middin, I am unable to propose any identifications. We found the Arabs very willing and intelligent, and every ruin we could hear of we fixed and explored, but the total number did not exceed seven, and of these only one (Khirbet Umm Haleseh) seemed undoubtedly an old site. The remainder were the traces of small convents, hermit's caves, and other indications of early Christian monkish establishments, probably belonging to the fifth and sixth centuries, when such numbers of saints and hermits came to these dreary solitudes to spend their days in retirement.

There is no want of care or thoroughness in the work which can account for not finding the ancient sites and names we had hoped to fix, but a reason which seems to me to preclude the possibility of the preservation of the names exists in *the modern and descriptive character of the nomenclature throughout the district.* We have always found it far easier to collect names among the Arabs than among the Fellahín or villagers. The names are quite as numerous and better known; the nomadic tribes far more intelligent and more willing to give the names. At first sight, the chance of identification would seem greater in the wild country where no plough has passed over the ground, and no village has been built from the dismembered relics of ancient structures, but experience teaches us that the reverse is the case. The settled population have preserved the ancient names under forms more or less modified, the wandering Bedouin have replaced them by descriptive titles of their own, and thus the names of ruins are merely "Mother of Pillars," "Father of Caves," "Pigeon's Cliff," "Valley of Nests," "Valley of Wild Goats," "The Convent," "The Steps," or some similar insignificant but well-known appellation. The nomenclature already obtained before the survey is far more correct here than in other parts of Palestine; we were able most fully to confirm the results of Dr. Tristram's work along the shores of the Dead Sea, as well as to admire the energy which must have been necessary to enable him to push for-

ward in places where I should have thought it impossible for pack animals to pass. The labours of Robinson here, as everywhere, are marvellously accurate and satisfactory; and of the forty names on Murray's map (one-fifth of the number we obtained) we found all but two correct, although the positions of some places were altered as much as four miles.

It was extremely fortunate for us that the great storm which caught us at Tekú'a last December and drove us back to Jerusalem forbade our attempting to push through the Desert as we intended. Even in the early spring we had considerable difficulty in obtaining water, and I think that, as scarcely any rain fell in this desert, we should have found it impossible to proceed at the former time, even if there had been no danger of fever, as we were warned there was; and, indeed, considering the pestilence which raged over the plains last autumn (reducing the population of many villages one half), and also remembeing the unhealthy condition of Jericho, even as late as January, we should probably have suffered severely in the lower country near 'Ain Jidy.

The *route* we took through the country differs from that of both Tristram and Robinson. We camped for two days at the principal well in Wady Hasásah (Bir el Sekeiríyeh). Thence we removed to 'Ain Jidy, where our Arabs were anxious for us to camp at the fountain. Looking down, however, from the top of the cliffs at the narrow serpent-like path or *Nukb*, which led down 1,200 feet to the spring, I came to the conclusion that it would be impossible for heavily-laden animals, tired with five hours' march, to get down in safety, so we camped on the top of the cliff, and sent all the beasts down unloaded to drink and to bring up water. It took them one hour to get down and one hour and a quarter to get up again. We afterwards descended to the Dead Sea shore for survey, and were of opinion we should have lost half of our beasts if we had followed the advice of the Arabs (who have no idea what a horse can or cannot do). One false step and an animal might roll to the bottom without stopping, as we afterwards heard had happened to more than one unlucky camel bringing loads of salt from Jebel Usdum. We afterwards found water in a hollow of the rocks, and on this we existed for two days.

From 'Ain Jidy we removed to Bir es Sherky, a fine rock-cut reservoir, nearly full of water, and containing also many frogs and weeds. The taste was unpleasant. We stayed here one day, and visited Masada, nine miles distant. Thence we removed to Wady Seiyal to the encampment of Abu Dahúk (son of the famous sheikh of that name). Here we were caught in the most tremendous gale which we have yet experienced in tents; and our next march of nineteen miles in a perfect hurricane of bitter wind, with showers of sleet and hail, necessitated by the fact that all our barley and other stores were consumed, was the hardest bit of experience we have yet encountered. Our dogs and two muleteers were unable to face the storm, and took refuge in caves. Old Sheikh

Hamzeh (the famous guide, of whom Dr. Tristram, Mr. Palmer, and others have written) fell off his pony twice, and had to be tied on. The brave beasts struggled for eleven hours, and crossed more than one torrent of cold water up nearly to the girths, but by eight at night they were in a warm stable, and we had found refuge in Hebron in the house of a German Karaite Jew, whose hospitality was as great as his subsequent charge was high. We passed the following day in the house, and on the Wednesday encamped on the green in front of the town. On Thursday we again packed the tents wet, and descended to our present camp at Beit Jibrín, where a day was devoted to getting the camp dry, resembling a ship after a storm, with every sort of article, bedding, clothing, tents, &c., exposed to the sun and the breeze. The horses showed for several days the effects of the two nights' exposure to cold and wet in the forms of rheumatism, sore back, and sore heel, but so hardy are these Syrian horses that not one was off its feet through the whole of the time.

To return to the results obtained. There is an important canon of identification which, though it is hinted at more than once by Mr. Grove, has been entirely ignored by many of the later writers on Biblical sites. As it is in perfect accordance with the discoveries made during the course of the survey, I feel no hesitation in confirming its value, and the beauty of the explanation thus given to what has often been supposed a confused and fragmentary inventory of towns will be at once recognised. The proposition may be briefly stated as follows:—"*The order of occurrence of the names in any of the groups of towns mentioned in the book of Joshua is invariably an indication of relative situation.*" The order is, in fact, the natural one in which any modern inhabitant of the country might enumerate the sites, whilst the different groups are all natural divisions of the country according to physical characteristics. This fact, which I hope to prove definitely in my next report, is the next step to the classification in groups under the various royal cities which I pointed out as being the first step in systematic distribution of the sites. The third step remains: the identification of each site in accordance with these propositions, towards which the survey will have done more than has been done since the time of Robinson; and thus I hope that one and not the least valuable of its results will be the vindication of the systematic and contemporary character of the topographical passages of the Book of Joshua.

I feel that this subject is of such interest that it cannot be too strongly insisted on. In the papers which I have sent to the Committee on the topography I have, to a certain extent, followed it out. In the tribe of Judah the towns, 126 in all, are divided into twelve groups. The cities of the south country (the first group) lie beyond the Beersheba limit of our work. The fourteen towns of the Shephalah, the sixteen cities of the Plain, the nine cities of the lowlands of Libnah, are so little known

that I hope my report on the identifications in these districts will quite revolutionise some of the theories previously put forward. The three cities of Philistia are all known, but the Western Negeb (capital Debir) and the group between this and the Jeshimon were scarce known at all till last autumn. Last, but not least, is the group of nine, of which Hebron is the capital, and of which we have newly identified three. The remaining groups are better known, being those in the hills; six cities, of which Gedor was the capital; and those mentioned by the Septuagint immediately south of Jerusalem, with six in the Midbar. In every one of these groups I hope to be able to show that the canon of identification proposed above holds good, but more than one old identification will be found to fail under the test in cases where a similarity of name alone has been thought sufficient.

Judging by this indication of position the site of Middin should be on the northern limit of the Midbar or Desert. The position of Betharabah, first in the list, though not certainly identified, is known to have been near to W. Kelt, south of Jericho. Middin stands next to it. This consideration leads me to identify it with Khirbet Mird, a famous site on the edge of the Bukeia, east of Mar Saba. It is noticed by M. Ganneau and Mr. Drake in former reports, and there is no doubt that it was an ancient site of considerable importance. It stands upon a steep cliff, and the water supply is derived from a fine aqueduct leading to rock-cut reservoirs. Other caves containing water are hewn at the foot of the hill. Further details I cannot give from memory alone, and my notes and plans connected with the site are now in London. At a later period the site was known as Mons Mardes, but if it be, as I believe, an acknowledged law that R and D are often interchanged, then we have in Mird a corruption possibly of Midd, and the name is the same as that of Middin, the loss of the final N being very common in the Arabic modification of Hebrew names. Were it not for the position of the site and the impossibility of identifying it with any town except one of the list of six cities in the Desert, I should hesitate to put forward this suggestion, but taking the various circumstances in favour of the identifications, the name seems to me to be sufficiently near.

It is not, however, possible to suppose that any large or important places ever existed in the dreary wastes, rocky valleys, conical chalk mounds, white flint-bound ridges, or in the winding muddy wadies, with an occasional reservoir hewn in the harder stratum of the limestone to supply water in a country destitute of springs. Except at 'Ain Jidy, the Hazazon Tamar, or Southern City of Palms, there is no natural site for a city in this "solitude," aptly so called in the Bible (Heb. Ha-Jeshimon). One may travel all day and see only the desert partridge, and a chance fox or vulture. Only the dry and fleshy plants, which require no water, grow on the hills, and in the valleys the most luxuriant vegetation consists of the Retem, or white broom bushes which were just coming into bloom. Wearisome to ride over, and uninterest-

ing to survey, the Jeshimon is in parts (as below 'Ain Jidy) deserted even by the Arabs, and is the most desolate country we have ever come across. I am strongly tempted to suppose that Sekakah, Nibshan, and the City of Salt, were small mud villages on the borders of the Dead Sea, in the vicinity of such springs as 'Ain Terâbeh and 'Ain el Ghuweir. The name City of Salt suggests a connection with the Salt Sea, unless, indeed, it were to be placed at Tell el Milh, "the Hill of Salt;" but here the question of relative position comes in, and seems to me to prevent the identification. It might possibly be thought that Sekakah has some connection with Ras el Shugf, but the suggestion is scarce worth mentioning, and unless some future careful explorer is more fortunate than we were, I fear that the four cities of the desert have shared the fate of Sodom and Gomorrah, and have left no trace behind.

In the second question, that of the cave where Saul and David met, we shall, I hope, turn out to be more fortunate. In the lower country the ridges above the Dead Sea caves are not numerous, and all my inquiries failed to produce one sufficiently large for the requirements of the case. A few small *Tors*, as they are here called, exist, but in none of these could "David and his men" be hidden "in the sides of the cave," so as to be unseen by Saul as he entered. There are, however, caves on the edge of the higher hills, and we at last heard of a cave, said to be of considerable size, at Khirbet Minieh, on the direct route from Jerusalem to 'Ain Jidy. I was not able at the time to visit it, but shall make a point of doing so from Jerusalem in May. These caves are still used by the peasantry from the hill country as sheepcotes; and if, as seems likely, this cave prove to be of unusual extent, upon the direct route, and as far as we have been able to find the only one upon that route, there will be at least a considerable probability that it is the site in question.

The difficulty of the country, especially towards the north of the district, is very considerable. On our first day's expedition across country it took us over four hours to advance five miles, owing to the great depth of the valleys, and at length, when we fancied we had arrived at our point, we found it would take two hours more at least to reach it. Fortunately we got a good view of the valley at our feet, and were not absolutely obliged to revisit the point in question. Farther south the country is absolutely impassable, as huge gorges 1,000 to 1,500 feet deep, and nearly a mile wide in some places, are broken by the great torrents flowing in winter over perpendicular precipices into the sea. We descended and followed the shore at 'Ain Jidy as far as the sulphur springs discovered by Dr. Tristram. These proved to be dry, though there was a very strong and local smell of sulphur, observable only for some few yards near the shore. The season was much drier than that when Dr. Tristram visited the shore, and the *Seil*, or brook in Wady Sideir, which he saw, and of which our Arabs spoke, was quite dry, as well as that in Wady el Areijeh.

The scenery along the shore is so magnificent in its wild and desolate grandeur that it was worth any discomfort or weariness to see it. Below is the blue oily water, the white capes, and little mud cones of a soft deposit, marking a former geological level; above, the tall crags and castellated precipices of the great wall, which runs ever higher and steeper to near Masada. From 'Ain Jidy the square isolated block of Masada was visible, and the low mole-hill of Jebel Usdum; whilst on the east above the deep gorges of the Arnon and lesser streams among the Blue Mountains, "scarred with an hundred wintry water-courses," the white towers of Kerak were distinctly visible, standing apparently unapproachable upon a great cliff. The ride to Masada was equally grand; and the appearance of this wonderful fortress, as it stood up black against the morning sun, and the shining level of the Dead Sea, while below, in the valley, a herd of *beden* (the Ibex, or wild goat) were hopping from boulder to boulder, was as grand and picturesque a bit of savage scenery as a painter could desire. I was sorry Lieut. Kitchener was unable to accompany us for photography, especially as I had no time for sketching. Corporal Armstrong took three dry-plate views, two of which seem satisfactory, but the great gale at Masada made photography almost an impossibility.

The Ta'amireh Arabs, amongst whom we were first, have a very bad name in Jerusalem, but we found them civil and obliging, and very intelligent, especially Sheikh Abel el Kader, at whose camp—the largest encampment I have yet seen, twenty-eight tents, or about thirty guns—we first pitched in Wady Hasásah. These Ta'amirehs are not true Arabs, but half Fellahín. They are fine-built fellows, of a browner colour than the true Bedawi, and wear shoes and turbans, instead of the kufeyeh and sandal. They are also so degraded as to cultivate the ground, and grow corn, which they store in Bethlehem, and sell for very high prices.

On the second day, when out alone with Abel el Kader, I met some very wild-looking fellows belonging to the K'aabineh; they were true Bedouin, with the peculiar silvery tint which overlies the brown of their complexion, giving them a dusky appearance. They all wore sandals, and a single shirt, with ram's horn for powder, and a very long gun slung behind. Though at first they ran at us as though to annihilate us, they were very civil, knowing the sheikh well, and on his explaining that I was one of a party of Kanasil, a term I afterwards found to be the plural of consul, a European dignitary for whom the Bedawi has unlimited respect. I hope that I shall be pardoned for thus involuntarily assuming such a title, but it appears that in the desert it is not always possible or wise to refuse honours when "thrust upon one."

The Bedouin appear to look forward to a millenium, when the Christians will turn the desert into a Paradise of running streams, gardens, and vineyards. In this, it seems to me, we have a tradition of Crusading times. The Crusaders appear to have turned considerable attention to

the cultivation of the Jordan valley and Dead Sea basin. At Beisan and Jericho we found traces of sugar manufacture, and the drystone walls of the Crusading vineyards extend over all the Bukeia, or low plain beneath Mar Saba. Farther south we found the Roman camps were called by our guides to Masada, *Karum Kharban*, or "ruined vineyards."

The great luxury coveted by the Bedouin is tobacco, and we soon found that the present of a pipeful would bring the whole tribe on us in a swarm, in relation to which the Jehalin pipes, as I informed Abu Dahuk, had *finjans*, or coffee-cups, by mistake, for bowls, being, I should fancy, about double the capacity of the ordinary native pipe.

From 'Ain Jidy southwards, the country belongs to the Jehalin, who, as far as our experience goes, we found fully worthy of Dr. Robinson's remark that they are the filthiest and most degraded of Arabs. The former tribes have no horses, but the Jehalin have some strong and large mares—not, however, I imagine, very well bred. The young Sheikh Abu Dahúk is one of the greatest ruffians I have ever met, and I have no doubt might any day endeavour to emulate the prowess of his father.

At Wady Hasásah we heard great accounts of a raid by the Dhullam Arabs, and that the Jehalin had been driven from their country, but I was inclined to disbelieve the story altogether, and it was not till we were leaving the country that we found a body of cavalry posted close to our camp at Wady Seiyal, and that a serious fray had really occurred just before we arrived, which may account for the excited bearing of many of the Arabs we met. The Bedouin are for some reason or other all much excited just now in the south, and we hear that war is going on within three hours' distance of our present camp at Beit Jibrin.

Two sites of especial interest demand a special description, namely, 'Ain Jidy and Masada.

'Ain Jidy.—The spring of 'Ain Jidy comes out from beneath a rock on a little plateau 500 feet above the Dead Sea, and 1,200 feet below the top of the cliffs. Its temperature at the spring head on a cool cloudy day we found to be 83° Fahr., unpleasantly warm to the taste, though the water is clear and sweet. I was not previously aware that it was a thermal spring. The stream flows in a long cascade over the steep face of the cliff, and is lost in channels for irrigation beneath. Its course is marked with tall rushes and low bushes, and the gigantic leaves of the 'Osher, the yellow berries of the Solanum, or apple of Sodom, and the flat cedar-like tops of the thorny Dardára, make a thicket round the spring. The bulbuls and hopping thrushes delight in this cover, and on the cliffs above, the black grakles, with their golden wings and melodious note, may be seen soaring. Beneath the spring on every side are ruined garden walls and terraces, and a large terraced mound or tell, perhaps the site of the ancient town. An aqueduct leads from the spring to Wady el Areijeh, where are other smaller

water channels, relics of some well-watered garden of perhaps Crusading times. The tombs found by Dr. Tristram we did not see, but what seemed to me of most interest was a rude, square, solid platform, about 10-15 feet wide, and 3 feet high, consisting of unhewn blocks, and having very much the appearance of what might not unnaturally be expected to exist in such a spot—namely, an ancient altar, dating back, perhaps, to Jewish times.

There is a ruined mill, apparently modern, at the spring, and a building resembling a small tower, beneath the gorge of Wady el Areijeh, but beyond what is mentioned above, we saw no indications of antiquity. Not a single palm exists this side of the Dead Sea, and the shore presents alternately masses of boulders and broken stones, or fine shingle, very tiring to walk upon. The whole extent is utterly barren until the cane-brake and marshy ground near the northern springs and Ras Feshkhah are reached.

Masada.—The site of Masada requires, perhaps, more careful exploration than we were able to give to it. Time pressed, and we could only afford a single day, so we got into the saddle by 6 a.m., reached the ruin by 9 a.m., and remained till 3 p.m. We executed a traverse survey of the top with the prismatic compass and tape, and special plan of the chapel. We also fixed the positions of the Roman camps below. A very severe gale of wind came on, and we found great difficulty in taking our observations. I was disappointed in the hope of descending to the tower at the north angle, being afraid to venture in so strong a wind 70 feet down over the edge of the precipice, although I had brought ladders and ropes for the purpose. Perhaps some opportunity may occur later of making this interesting exploration. We returned to camp at 6 p.m., and were kept awake all night by the wind.

To give an adequate idea of the appearance of Masada is by no means easy, a great plateau standing 1,500 feet or more above the Dead Sea, and measuring 2,080 feet along its greatest length, which extends north and south, and 1,050 feet east and west; it is surrounded on every side with vertical walls of rock, and cut off from the rest of the cliff by deep gorges on the south, south-east, north-west, and west, whilst on the east it stands above a broad plain reaching down to the shore of the Dead Sea.

The first point which strikes one on approaching the ruin and climbing to the plateau is the wonderful exactitude of the description by Josephus (B. J. vii. 8. 2). Left last to the Jews as a stronghold after the capture of Herodium and Machærus, it was not until every other disturbance had been quelled that the Romans turned to the tremendous task of reducing Masada. Flavius Silva "got together all his army" and besieged Eleasar, chief of the Sicarii, and having garrisoned the surrounding country, "he built a wall quite round the entire fortress; he also set his men to guard the several parts of it; he also pitched his camp in such an agreeable place as he had chosen for the siege, and at which place the rock belonging to the fortress did make the nearest

approach to the neighbouring mountain." Yet further, the main difficulty of the siege, the absolute impossibility of obtaining not only provisions, but even a drop of water, was overcome by Roman energy and system, and supplies were brought into camp probably from a great distance; as no water exists, as far as we could discover, within a radius of about ten miles, the principal supply was probably from 'Ain Jidy and the springs near it along the seashore.

Josephus goes on to describe the fortress and the valleys, of which he says well "that the eye could not reach their bottoms." Two approaches alone existed, one on the seaside, one on the west or land side. The first, called the "Serpent," from its innumerable windings, appears to have been a mere track by which a man could climb, and has almost entirely disappeared; but looking cautiously over the edge I could see far down faint traces of a parapet wall near the bottom of the precipice, looking like an outwork perched upon the crags. This is no doubt part of the more difficult ascent. The land approach was easier, a narrow knife-like promontory of softer limestone here juts out from the rocky wall. This is the *White Promontory*. The junction of the tongue with the main cliff is now hidden by a huge mound of *débris* reaching up perhaps 300 feet. This huge earthwork is the ramp which the Roman general made to attack the fortress from the side of his camp in the most accessible (or rather the least impossible) direction.

On reaching the summit one is struck, first, by the small extent of the ruins compared with the area of the plateau; secondly, with the difficulty of supplying the garrison with water. The first is fully explained by Josephus: "For the king reserved the top of the hill, which was of a fat soil and better mould than any valley, for agriculture, that such as committed themselves to this fortress for their preservation might not even there be quite destitute of food in case they should ever be in want of it from abroad." Thus it is quite natural that the principal and most ancient ruins should be confined to the northern corner of the enclosure. The whole plateau was surrounded by a wall which now remains in heaps of good-sized masonry rudely squared and apparently never laid in mortar. The length of this wall we make to be 4,880 feet; according to Josephus it was seven furlongs, or about 4,620 feet; another instance of the fact that the supposed exaggerations of this author disappear before careful examination. Even the great length which he ascribes to the "Serpent ascent," thirty furlongs, only gives an average length of thirteen times the vertical height to be scaled, which cannot be thought excessive, being, as far as I can calculate, almost exactly the gradient of the terrible *Nukb* or descending path from the upper cliff to the spring at 'Ain Jidy.

The towers round the wall are still traceable in places, and the block of Herod's palace "within and below the walls of the citadel, but inclined to its north side *at* the western ascent," is to be identified, I think, with the great square area 200 feet wide, which now presents nothing but a confused mass of fallen walls and masonry, and which

adjoins the top of the western ascent close within the wall. There is a striking resemblance between the masonry and that at Jebel Fureidis. Near the north corner of the fortress a small vault remains perfect. It has a cradle roof semicircular, and with the narrow keystone and broader stones at the haunches which I have so often had occasion to point out as being distinctive of Roman work. Another peculiarity is common in the two sites. The main part of the ruins consist of long parallel walls of rudely squared masonry extending some 100 feet, and having intervals of only 10 feet. It will be found that a precisely similar disposition equally puzzling exists in the ruins of the great building generally considered the site of Herod's summer palace at the foot of Jebel Fureidis. In all probability these foundation vaults were used as storehouses, and in them would be found those treasures of corn and fruit which, laid up by Herod, were found fresh and good 100 years later by Eleasar.

Josephus frequently speaks of "the very top of the mountain," and the expression seems to refer to the high mound at the north angle, from which a subterranean passage led to the palace. The western ascent was guarded by a large tower 1,000 cubits below (about 1,300 feet, again a very correct estimate); from the summit of this we did not remark any traces, and no doubt it was destroyed by the Romans. It can hardly, I think, be identified with the curious circular tower at the north angle, 70 feet beneath the platform, which I was unable to visit, but which does not seem to be specially mentioned by Josephus.

The next question is that of water supply, concerning which we read that Herod "cut many and great pits as reservoirs for water at every one of the places that were inhabited." Of these we found six in all pretty evenly distributed over the area, and averaging 50 to 100 feet in length. In addition to this there is a fine masonry reservoir measuring nearly 50 feet in length placed in the southern angle, and a small well on the west near the wall. The great pits were all dry, but this is probably due to no rain having fallen, and not to the decay of the fortress, for with one exception they do not seem to have ever been cemented.

To return to the Roman siege of Masada. The White Promontory was 300 cubits (400 feet) beneath the plateau, and the mound made by Silva was 200 cubits, or 270 feet high. On the top of the mound it was, therefore, necessary to raise another structure, and "another elevated work of great stones compacted together was raised upon that bank: this was 50 cubits (about 70 feet) both in breadth and in height." This, also, remains intact upon the top of the mound, a narrow causeway at a slope of about one by one, and reaching about the height and breadth mentioned by Josephus to within a short distance of the present gateway. It consists of large blocks rudely hewn and very closely built together. The exactitude of this description furnishes, I would suggest, a good answer to those writers who are only too apt to discover exaggeration and error in the descriptions of the Jewish historian, written, as they would have us believe, at a distance from the spot which he himself had never visited, and after a lapse of time sufficient to account for any

supposed errors. This is emphatically untrue as regards Masada. The description is that of one familiar with the site and accustomed to describe what he saw with an accuracy to which the majority of modern writers cannot lay claim.

The Roman investment remains perfect to this day, and as one looks down upon the long wall and orderly camps spread out as upon a plan beneath, the mind conjures up the system and discipline of a Roman army, the shining armour and orderly ranks which Josephus delights to describe, and one can imagine the despair of the wretched zealots as they looked down secure but helpless on the inevitable fate which the genius, energy, and determination of a Roman general was slowly but surely preparing for them.

On the west side of the fortress, upon a low spur of the hills, lies the camp which Silva held in person. It is a square of some 200 feet wide, as far as we can judge, rather larger than the average of such camps as exist near Jenin and Beit Jibrin. The four gates, with their internal traverse, and the Via Principalis, are distinctly traceable. In the north-west corner is an inner enclosure, which I suppose to be the position of the general's tent. The walls are now huge heaps of stones, but they seem to have been built up in courses which remain visible here and there.

A second camp, almost of equal magnitude, is laid out on the plain south-east of the rock. It has the peculiarity of a sort of bastion in the south-west angle. The surrounding wall runs in front of these camps, and in connection with this there are six small square forts of perhaps 50 feet wide, two in front of the eastern camp, two between it and that of Silva, and two yet farther west, the last being skilfully hidden behind a conical peak so as to be invisible from all that part of the fortress which is most nearly approached to this outwork. These forts remind us of those mentioned in the famous siege of Jerusalem by Titus. In fact, the attack has many striking points of similarity; it is made on the open ground north and east of the fortress, and on the other sides the great wall, as at Jerusalem, scales the steep slopes of the hills on the opposite sides of the ravine and runs along the plateau above. It is quite possible that Silva, when he planned the attack on Masada, had in his mind the example of the emperor in that successful blockade which, to a soldier, seems remarkable for its happy choice of position.

The value of this perfect example of the method employed by the Romans in conducting a siege in the stonier parts of Palestine is unquestionable; by the light of what we can here learn we shall be able to search at Jerusalem for indications of the great surrounding wall, and of the site of Roman camps, and I already see that the great flint mounds near Scopus, which have as yet escaped the attention of explorers, will require careful examination, as very probably connected with the first Roman camp there established. We cannot, however, expect at Jerusalem, where the ground is all under cultivation, that any traces so perfect as those round this desolate fortress should have been left to the

present day. The lesson we learn from Masada—untouched and scarce visited since it met its fate from Silva—is, that the destruction of ruins in Palestine is due far more to human agency than to the gradual action of time.

Roman ruins, though the most interesting, are not, however, the only ones at Masada. In the centre of the area stands a Byzantine chapel, which, from the disposition of the atrium and the rounded arches of the windows, I should be disposed to think earlier than Crusading times. There are no masons' marks on its walls, and the masonry of the apse is finished with a tooling which, as I have previously described it, belongs to Byzantine times.

The entrance gate to the fortress is, however, evidently later, and has a pointed arch with a keystone cut out beneath so as to give the apex of the arch. On the outside are the marks which M. de Saulcy compares with planetary signs.

The first is the well-known *Wusm*, or tribe mark of the Rasheideh Arabs, two of the others are claimed by sections of the Jehalin. The remaining marks, some old, some fresh cut, are of the same origin, and show the assertion made by various tribes in turn of proprietorship of the hidden treasures which the Bedouin suppose to exist here. I did not observe any mark which seemed to me of earlier character.

Two curious details remain to notice—the hermit's cave and the pigeon-hole niches in the walls of the buildings. The first, a small tomb-like cavern immediately south of the chapel, I have never seen noticed. I entered and planned it, and found on the wall of the vestibule the following short inscription painted on the white rock in that curious red pigment which is observable in the graphitæ on the pillars of the Holy Sepulchre church, and in those of the Basilica at Bethlehem, in the apse of the chapel in the Convent of the Cross, and in other places where mediæval graphites remain :—

+ΚΥΡΙΩΚΟC+

On the left is a rude bit of ornamentation which I take to represent a branch with two pomegranates and some leaves.

The pigeon-hole niches formed by the disposition of the masonry in the interior wall of a tower on the west wall, and on both sides of the wall forming the chord of a semicircular structure in another part of the ruin, have been photographed before, and have considerably puzzled most explorers. I suppose them to be of Christian origin. We shall have occasion to mention similar niches in the cave chapels at Beit Jibrin. At Damascus the Burj el Rus, or "tower of heads," has similar niches, where, I believe, the skulls of criminals used to be exhibited. The niches are larger than those for lamps, so common in tombs, as at Tibneh. The disposition of skulls into trophies is a ghastly fancy, common in Italy and in parts of France as well as in Sinai, and the most natural explanation seems to me that the skulls of the monks or hermits who, as we see from the chapel and the Christian inscription, once frequented the spot, were collected and exhibited to their brethren upon

these walls. The semicircular building is away from the site of the Roman remains in an isolated position, and as it falls approximately to the east I suppose it to be a trace of another chapel, though I failed to find traces of the walls of a nave.

For further particulars I must refer to the plan which we shall send home as soon as possible, and to detailed notes which are stored in our note-books. Of subterranean caverns, beyond a few caves in the face of the cliff looking like hermits' habitations, I saw no traces; but, as I have said above, I was unfortunately unable to attempt the descent to the great circular tower, and did not therefore see those entrances which Dr. Tristram mentions as probably leading to great vaults. Such vaults are not, however, mentioned by Josephus in his general description, although he makes mention of a cavern in which the seven wretched survivors found refuge. This need not, however, of necessity have been larger than the supposed hermit's cave or tomb described above, which would hold easily more than double that number.

XXXIII.

BEIT JIBRIN, *March 26th*, 1875.

THE SHEPHALAH AND PLAIN OF JUDAH, BEIT JIBRIN, GATH, ADULLAM, AND LIBNAH.

THE survey is at present steadily advancing through the lowlands and Plain of Judah. Nearly half the towns which are noticed in the topographical lists of the Book of Joshua belong to districts now being surveyed, and for the most part almost unknown. With the exception of Captain Warren's survey of part of the plain, Robinson's journey to Beit Jibrin and Gaza, Vandevelde's journey along the same line and along the coast, and Tobler's "Wandering," scarce any attention has been paid to this part of Palestine. The district west of the Dhoheriyeh hills and south of Beit Jibrin, as well as the very intricate hill country north and east of our present camp, more particularly require exploration. They prove to be more thickly strewn with ruins than any portion of the land we have seen, and most of these sites show evidences of great antiquity. Our progress is therefore slow and careful, and we shall endeavour, if possible, not to lose a single name. Our guides are taken from many villages, those nearest the part surveyed being adopted in turn, and the native scribe is sent into the field to secure the orthography when the natives cannot be brought as far as the camp.

Of the general results it is premature to speak in detail as yet, and I will reserve the report of our identifications till the country of Judah is completed, when it can be treated altogether. Some idea of the value of our work may, however, be derived from the following statement:—

The eleven districts into which the cities of Judah are divided (exclusive of twenty-nine cities of the Negeb, south of Beersheba, afterwards allotted to Simeon), contain in all ninety-seven names of towns; of these forty-two were placed in the low hills (or Shephalah) and on the maritime plain. Of the total of ninety-seven, thirty-five had been identified with tolerable certainty before the period of the survey; but of these, three (Adullam, En-gannim, and Beth Dagon) have only lately been fixed in consequence of the researches of M. Ganneau. Of the remaining thirty-two, by far the greatest number are due to Robinson, whilst Vandevelde, Wolcott, and others, have added an occasional stray discovery.

At the time at which I write, the number of new identifications in Judah, sufficiently well considered for publication, due to our Survey, has reached a total of thirty-three. I fully expect that at least four or five more are still to be made, as well as identifications of towns not mentioned in the 15th chapter of Joshua. I do not include in this total sites previously proposed and now confirmed by our work. But it is not only in numbers that we have made a step in advance, for, as the number of sites known will now average more than three-quarters of the total in each district, it becomes possible to understand the system according to which the names occur, and to define the limits of the districts. This is especially the case with regard to the lowlands of Libnah, a group of nine towns, of which this royal city was the capital, and of which only three are previously identified by Robinson. I hope that we shall be able to show thoroughly good identifications for the remaining six, and thus to prove that the order of occurrence of the names is perfectly regular in this case, *being in a circle from right to left*. This is only one instance of the canon which we have, I hope, established, that "the order of occurrence of the names in the topographical lists is a certain indication of relative situation." The final identification of three out of every four sites mentioned, which may reasonably be expected, is indeed a great advance in Biblical illustration.

The principal sites of interest now visited are Beit Jibrin, Tell el Safieh, the Valley of Elah, and the site of Adullam, which should, I think, be accepted as identified by M. Ganneau with the present 'Aid-el-mia.

Beit Jibrin.—Beit Jibrin, identified by Dr. Robinson with the Eleutheropolis of Jerome and the Betogabra of the Acta Sanctorum and Peutinger tables, was known as Beit Jibril to the Arab geographers of the middle ages, and this was converted into Gibelin by the Crusaders. Whatever the ancient name of the site, its present title dates in all probability from Christian times. There is on the N.W. side of the village a small plot of ground, with a few scattered stones, which is held sacred as a *Wely* (a contraction meaning a spot sacred to some holy personage), but no building of any kind is erected on it. The place is called Nebi Jibril, or Nebi Jibrin (the fellahin invariably change the L into M or N, *e.g.*, Ism'ain for Ism'ail, Israim or Isr'ain for Isr'ail). The translation of this is, of course, the "Prophet Gabriel," and the veneration of this site is no doubt due to a traditionary remembrance of the church which Dr.

Robinson heard of close to this spot, "with pictures in the southern part (of the Kalah) now shut up, and indeed buried beneath the ruins." All traces of this church seem to have disappeared beneath the mounds which here exist; but the circumstance is of value, as seeming to show that the name Beit Jibrin is not a corruption of any Hebrew or Aramaic word, but simply signifies "The House of Gabriel," being so called, I would suggest, in early Christian times, from the church to the Angel within the town.

Lying low on the side of a white chalk hill, hemmed in with higher rolling ridges, and surrounded with extensive and very ancient olive groves, Beit Jibrin can hardly be seen in any direction at a distance of a mile. It is a site peculiarly rich and sheltered, but of no natural strength, and cannot therefore be identified with any place which was famous as a stronghold in early times.

The ruins in and round the town are very extensive and interesting. The soft rock seems to have tempted its inhabitants in every age, and traces of Jewish, Roman, Byzantine, Crusading, and Saracenic workmen are to be found. The most striking peculiarity, which it shares with a few other sites in the Shephalah, is the great number of enormous caverns which are to be found on every side. As a rule, there is an open court, or sunken approach, hemmed in with walls of rock, and leading to great domed apartments having man-holes in the roofs. This class, of which there are eleven principal examples, goes by the name of *Arák*. Where the entrance is a narrow door, or well-mouth, and the caves have no light, the natives call it a *Mogharah*. The third kind, the rock-cut sepulchres, they name here, as throughout Palestine, Namús (plural Nawamís), which means a *mosquito*, and is a vulgar corruption of the proper Arabic title Naús (pl. Nawawís).

That Beit Jibrin is an ancient site may be judged from the existence of rock-cut wine-presses and olive-presses in its vicinity, and of sepulchres of unusual size, one containing thirty-four loculi, running in from the sides of its two chambers in the ordinary manner of Jewish tombs, the length of each being no less than 8 feet 4 inches. There are four good examples of this style of tomb, as well as several which have been broken into and destroyed in the process of enlarging the great caverns.

The village itself consists of mud huts, with a good stone house belonging to one of the two great families in the centre. On three sides it is surrounded with mounds, which might very possibly be worth excavating, but on the north, about one hundred paces from the houses, runs the line of the old fortifications. Three or four courses are visible almost throughout the whole extent, and at the N.W. angle the N. and W. walls reach up to 8 or 9 feet, whilst within stands a fort, or Kal'ah, 200 feet wide.

These fortifications, with the remains of a ditch and counterscarp, are put down by Dr. Robinson as dating from the Roman period, but it seems to me questionable whether they can be carried back further than

the 12th century, when King Fulke, who found the place an ancient ruined site, rebuilt it in A.D. 1134, with "impregnable walls, a mound, bastions, and advanced works," as described by William of Tyre (quoted by Robinson). A careful traverse with the compass shows that the wall recedes towards the centre of the north side so as to make a curtain, and that the counterscarp is thrown out in a circle, so as probably to allow of an interior ravelin or advanced work of some kind. The Kal'ah also has towers at its corners, and the N.W. part of the line projects as a sort of bastion. These peculiarities resemble Crusading rather than Roman work. That part of the Kal'ah, at least, is of this date we succeeded in proving by the examination of a long vault, built in four bays with pillars, having marble capitals of good workmanship, the acanthus patterns in low relief, similar to Crusading buildings at Kalensawieh, Cæsarea, and many other sites; there is a simple cornice, with well-executed mouldings and dentellated work above the pillars, good pointed arched and groined ragwork in the vaults; finally, on the better preserved stones we noticed the diagonal chiselling which M. Ganneau pointed out as distinctive of a certain class of Crusading work, and we found three masons' marks which I recognised as occurring in the Muristan, the castle of Kaukab el Hawa, the church at Abu Gosh, and many other 12th century buildings.

I feel, therefore, little hesitation in putting down the whole of the fortifications as Crusading, though a fine arch, seemingly of a gateway, exists within the wall at the N.E. corner, which is apparently semicircular, though it *may* have a slight point, and 24 feet span, with a double ring of masonry in the voussoirs. It might possibly be thought Roman at first sight, but the windows of the great church, next to be described, have precisely the same structure, and are certainly Byzantine. The length of the line of fortification visible is close upon 2,000 feet, or three times that of the village. Beit Jibrin must therefore in the middle ages have been a very considerable place.

Lieut. Kitchener has photographed the vault on the side of the Kal'ah, the Great Church of St. John, and one of the curious caves at Tell Sandahannah near the town. The weather, however, is very grey as yet, hot and hazy, with strong east wind at night.

Sandahannah.—About a mile S.E. of the village are the remains of the great church or cathedral, called by the fellahin Sandahannah or St. John. It is the finest specimen of a Byzantine church which I have yet seen in Palestine, and possesses a great peculiarity in its two side chapels. The nave is 32 feet wide, and must have been, it would seem, in the original plan, 124 feet in length. Two walls run out in continuation of the apse diameter, pierced with two tiers of two windows with circular arches. Each wall is 61 feet long, giving a total width of 154 feet to the building. In the two corners, N.W. and S.W., are chapels about 70 feet long by 20 feet broad, inside, their apses being in lines parallel to the main apse, which has an orientation 20° S. of east. The southern chapel has only the apse left, but in the other the foundations of its walls

remain, with two vaults, having good round arches and cradle roof below.

This original plan of the building has subsequently been altered by Crusading architects; piers are built on to the walls of the nave, supporting pointed arches, and one bay remains with its roof almost entire, 18 feet broad, from centre to centre of pier. A curious difficulty here occurs in the roof. The magnificent apse is covered with a beehive roof, of which every stone is in place, forming a hollow quarter-sphere; the height from the top is 43 feet, but the Crusading roof to the nave is about 10 feet lower. The way in which the semicircle thus left open on the diameter of the apse was closed it is now impossible to understand. There seem to have been some fine marble columns in the nave, standing on pedestals beneath the base, each pedestal about 3 feet high, with a cross upon it, surrounded with a laurel wreath. All these and other details we measured and sketched carefully. The church is a splendid example of the most careful style of Byzantine construction and masonry. The tooling of the stones is precisely that which I have described in a previous report as belonging to early Christian work. One of the stones in the great apse is 8 feet long, the average is from 2 to 5 feet. None of the stones are drafted. The height of the courses is 18 inches.

The Crusading parts of the work consist of smaller masonry, and the diagonal chiselling is visible upon the pier stones.

The Caves.—The question of the date of the great caverns here and at Deír Dubban is interesting and puzzling. At Beit Jibrin every cave or system of caves has a name, but these seem to be modern and trivial, unless any importance is attached to the title 'Arák el Finsh, or the *Phœnician Cavern*. The principal are 'Arák el Kheil, Abu Mizbeleh, El Moia, Heleil, Esalmi, El Mokat'a, El Finsh, Sandahannah, Sherraf, Sobek, and Ferhúd, with 'Arak Hala some little way west of our camp. In all of these the same disposition is visible—rounded chambers with domed roofs, from 20 to 50 feet diameter, communicate with one another; detached pillars support the roof in places; the height is 30 or 40 feet; and a thin crust only of the hard rock, pierced with a round well-hole, exists above. The walls are sometimes very rough, sometimes coarsely but regularly dressed with a pick diagonally. In two places springs exist within the cave. In many of them crosses of various character are cut on the walls, sometimes 15 to 20 feet from the ground. In one cave is a rude drawing deeply cut, and 10 to 12 feet from the ground. It is so curious that I enclose a sketch. Many of these rounded caves have the appearance of chapels, and have apses facing east. It is possible, therefore, that this may be a rude, unfinished representation of the Crucifixion, dating from early Christian times. In all the caves where crosses occur there are also Cufic inscriptions, generally at a low level, within reach, and consisting of short religious ejaculations—Ya Allah, Ya Mohammed, or "There is no God but God; Mohammed is the Messenger of God." There is, however, one very long and important one, which Dr. Robinson did not (as he afterwards regretted) find time

to copy. I send a sketch, for it requires a very considerable scaffold to approach it for a squeeze. It contains the name of Saladin, who took Beit Jibrin in about 1187 A.D.

There is one, however, of these *Arâks* which deserves special notice. It was visited by Robinson, and has the peculiarity of a chamber 50 feet long by 18 feet wide, with a well-cut barrel vault for the roof, beneath which on either side runs a band of tracery in low relief, 2 feet wide. The pattern, which is decidedly mediæval, differs on the two walls. I copied it carefully, and send a specimen. We also planned the whole of this system of caves, and found some dog-tooth moulding cut on one of the doors, which resembles the window photographed in the Muristan by Lieutenant Kitchener. There is also a niche, with what seems to be a figure, now much defaced. Another peculiarity visible in many of the caves consists of long rows of niches, some 8 to 10 inches either way, placed round the walls. In one case a sort of buttress exists, with niches in front and at the sides. South of the town, near Tell Sandahannah, is a cavern which contains 1,774 of these niches. Lieutenant Kitchener has taken a view of it; it is 96 feet long and 7 feet wide; the niches, placed in two tiers, separated by pilasters into 12 bays; each tier consists of five rows of four in a row, giving ten rows in a total height of about 12 feet. There are also four transepts, about six feet broad and 26 feet long, three having only an upper tier of niches, and a broader space below. The niches are about 10 inches either way. Two side doors led from the south end of the gallery. The object of the excavation is puzzling in the extreme. Lieutenant Kitchener is of opinion that they are catacombs, and that skulls were placed in the niches, and trophies of bones below. We have seen similar niches in rock-cuttings near Tanturah, but never before in such numbers. The only other explanation besides that above which occurs to me is that urns for ashes were kept here, in which case the cave would date back to Roman rather than to Christian times.

The whole hill round Tell Sandahannah is burrowed with caves, but these, again, are of a different character. They are not lighted from without, and the floors are reached by winding stairs. They consist of circular domed chambers, well cut, and communicating with one another. There is also a great square chamber, supported on rude rock pillars. Of the most perfect system, visited by Dr. Robinson, we made a plan. The chambers are dry, but full of mud, and may very possibly have been intended for cisterns. No other use suggests itself.

The question of the date of all these excavations is difficult. Throughout the south of Palestine, in the soft limestone district, I have invariably found the great caverns connected with Christian ruins. Even in the hard rocks of the desert the fifth century hermits hewed caves to live in. The niches, also, where we have before met them, seem connected with Christian sites, which renders the explanation given above, and enlarged upon in a former report, very probable. That the caves are subsequent to, or were at all events very greatly enlarged at, a period

later than that of the Jews is, I think, proved by the way in which the ancient sepulchres are broken into, and appear cut in half high up in the roof of the caverns. As shown above, the caves are full of Christian emblems, and it seems on the whole most probable that they are partly quarries (as is very plainly seen in places where half-quarried stones remain), and partly used for dwellings, chapels, or, perhaps, as now, for stables to flocks during the earlier Christian times. No doubt, however, more than one period should be found in them, and as Christian and Moslem succeeded one another, each may have added something to the number and size of the caves.

Roman Camps.—Beit Jibrin seems, at some time, to have been besieged by the Romans, if I am correct in supposing that the three great tells which surround it are the sites of Roman camps; they may, however, have been constructed later, when the Crusaders fortified the town. They are known as Tell Burnat west, Tell Sandahannah south-east, and Tell Sedeideh north-west. On each is a square enclosure, with a foundation, seemingly of a wall of small stones, but some 4 feet thick. The square faces towards the cardinal points, and the length of a side is about 50 yards. The positions chosen entirely command the town, and the artificial character of the top of each tell is at once visible from a distance. An aqueduct leads from near Tell Sedeideh to a cistern close to camp, but this appears to be of Saracenic date. It is possible we may find some clue to the identification of Beit Jibrin in the history of the places besieged by the Romans in this part of Palestine.

Gath.—Beit Jibrin has, I believe, been identified by some authors with Gath, but to this there seem to me to be many objections. The Onomasticon is not always a safe guide, but in this case is almost the only one we have, and, to say the least, it was easier to find an old site in the third century than in the nineteenth century. The Onomasticon defines Gath as being north from Eleutheropolis (or Beit Jibrin), on the road to Lydda, and again visible to those who went from Eleutheropolis to Gaza (probably for Gazara, or Gezer, at Tell Jezer), at the fifth milestone. This is a fatal objection, at least to the Gath of Eusebius being at Beit Jibrin; in addition to which Gath was in the country of the Philistines—the plain rather than the Shephalah—it was a strong site, and fortified by Rehoboam, not as is Beit Jibrin, a position naturally weak. Josephus mentions the "Borders of Gath" in connection with Ekron. Gaza to Gath he again gives, apparently as defining the whole extent of the southern plain taken by Joshua.

In the flight of the Philistines down the Valley of Elah, they were smitten to Sha'araim and Gath. None of these indications, slight though they are, fit with Beit Jibrin, but they all fit well with the other proposed site at Tell el Sáfieh, the strong fortress of Blanche Garde or Alba Specula. The most conclusive passage in Josephus may be added (Ant. v. 1. 22), where he defines the limit of the tribe

of Dan—"Also they had all Jamnia and Gath, from Ekron to that mountain where the tribe of Judah begins," a definition which places Gath very far north, and at all events not farther south than Tell el Sáfieh.

In one passage Josephus substitutes Ipan (Ant. viii. 10. 1), where Gath occurs in the Old Testament (2 Chron. xi. 8), but this does not appear to assist the identification much. Gath seems to have been one of the principal Philistine strongholds, and as such its position must have been important. It is, however, curiously omitted in the topographical lists, as is also Ascalon, another Philistine city—probably because neither was taken during Joshua's campaign in the plains.

The magnificent natural site of Tell el Sáfieh, standing above the broad valley, which seems undoubtedly the Valley of Elah, and presenting on the north and west a white precipice of many hundred feet, must have made this place one of importance in all ages. In its mounds, excavation might be productive of good results, but even of the fortress of Blanche Garde no trace seems to remain beyond the scarped side of the rock upon the east, evidently artificial. There are many large caves in the northern precipice, and excavations, where grain is now kept. The village at the top is a collection of miserable mud huts, inhabited by insolent peasantry, one of whom I had the satisfaction of sending bound to Hebron for threatening me with a stone.

The isolated position of this site would fully account for its being held (as the Jebusites held Jerusalem) by the original native population, never expelled by Joshua, whilst the plains round it were in the hands of the Jews, and from this outpost there was an easy passage up one of the great high roads to the hills—the Valley of Elah in which Samson and Samuel, and probably also David, in turn, so repeatedly encountered the Philistine invaders.

Adullam.—The site of, perhaps, primary interest in our work from this camp is that of the royal city of Adullam, with the cave or hold so famous in the history of David, in the identification of which I am happy to say our work entirely confirms the previous discovery due to M. Ganneau. The traditional site of Adullam is east of Bethlehem in Wady Khureitún—an extraordinary cavern with long winding passages. The general identification of later times has, however, been with Deir Dubbán, "The Convent of Flies," apparently because no name which approached more closely in the district in which Adullam was known to lie could be found, and because a cavern similar to those just described, is here to be found on the west side of the village. In a report from Beit 'Atáb (*Quarterly Statement*, January, 1875, p. 19) I described the cavern of Umm el Tuweimin under the impression that this was the spot M. Ganneau had supposed identical with Adullam, but this mistake he afterwards pointed out to me and gave me indications of the whereabouts of the true site.

There is no reason to suppose that the cave of Adullam was a site

separate from the royal city of that name. Josephus says that David, escaping from Gath, "came to the tribe of Judah, and abode in a cave by the city of Adullam" (Ant. vi. 12. 3). Thence he sent to his family in Bethlehem, and here he first collected to him "every one that was in distress, and every one that was in debt, and every one that was discontented" (1 Sam. xxii. 2).

The site of the city itself appears to be very ancient. The patriarch Judah is mentioned as going *down* (from the hill country it would seem to the Shephalah) to visit his friend Hirah the Adullamite. It appears in the list of royal cities taken by Joshua (Joshua xii. 15), between Libnah and Makkedah. It is again mentioned (Joshua xv. 35) in the list of fourteen cities of the Shephalah, and its name here appears between those of Jarmuth (Yarmúk) and the northern Socoh (Shuweikeh). That it was a site of natural strength we infer from the expression "the hold," which is used in reference to David's retreat, in or close to it (1 Sam. xxii. 5), and also from its being fortified by Rehoboam (2 Chron. xi. 7), as mentioned in the list of his fortresses, the name occurring between Socoh and Gath. In this list, however, the order of occurence throughout seems of little value. A further indication of position occurs in the notice in Micah i. 15, where it is named with Achzib and Mareshah. The requisites for the site of Adullam are therefore as follows :—

1st. That it be in the Shephalah or low hills.
2nd. In the neighbourhood of Jarmuth and Socoh.
3rd. At no great distance from the district of Mareshah and the northern towns of the Libnah district.
4th. Probably between Gath and Bethlehem.
5th. That it be a strong natural site.
6th. That it be an ancient site of importance with rock-cut tombs, good water supply, ancient and main roads and communications from different sides.
7th. That it contain one or more habitable caves.
8th. That the modern name contain the important letters of the Hebrew, especially the 'Ain.

The fact that this town whilst in one district is yet mentioned in connection with the northern towns of the district immediately south of it, is in itself a very important indication, and would fix Adullam as towards the south part of the district to which it belongs.

The requirements are, it will be seen, fully met in every particular by the site I am about to describe. Upon Murray's new map it will be seen that a great valley separates the Shephalah from the high hills, and runs first north-west, then north, from the watershed near Hebron to the neighbourhood of Socoh or Shuweikeh; it then turns west and runs near Tell el Sáfieh, and so into the sea, north of Ashdod. The first part to Socoh is called Wady Súr, afterwards it becomes Wady Sumt, the probable Valley of Elah.

On its eastern brink, about five miles south of Socoh, is the hill

of Keilah, above which, in the high hills, stands *Kharás*, which I have proposed to identify with Háreth. West of Socoh are the scenes of other battles with the Philistines, and a visit to the spot explains their choice of this part of the country for raids. The broad valley is, in the greater part of its course, over a mile across, and the rich arable ground, watered by a small brook from springs farther up, presented, when we visited it, a long vista of green cornfields and brown furrows, now ploughed by fellahín, who come down from Súríf, from S'aír, and from other villages in the hills. Thus from their stronghold of Gath (if Tell es Safieh be Gath), on the side of the valley, at the edge of the plain, the Philistines had a broad highway leading through the richest corn land of Judah on the one hand, east even to Jerusalem, and on the south to the neighbourhood of Keilah. Thus we see how important it was to hold the entrance to this rich but ill-protected country, and the occurrence of contests between Socoh and Gath is explained, whilst, on the other hand, we understand how the invaders came to penetrate to the apparently remote village of Keilah, where they robbed the threshing-floors (1 Sam. xxiii. 1), although it is on the west, separated from Philistia by the entire breadth of the rocky hills of the Shephalah.

Upon the western slope of this valley, north-east of the village of Umm Burj, and about half way from Keilah to Socoh, there will be found on Murray's map (1874) a Kubbeh, or Saint house, called Wely Mudkor. It is here that we place Adullam. The Kubbeh stands on the north edge of a range which rises some 500 feet above the broad valley. The sides of the hill are steep, and cut into terraces. The Kubbeh is surrounded by heaps of stones and ruins of indeterminate date, but there is no doubt of the antiquity of the site. Wherever the rock appears it is cut and quarried, and on the west I observed the entrance of a tomb, now closed up.

A tributary valley runs into Wady Súr on the north, and on the south a narrow neck of land, somewhat lower than the raised citadel near the Kubbeh, connects the site of the city with the remainder of the ridge. Thus it will be seen that the site is one of considerable natural strength.

In the valley beneath are two wells, one of great antiquity, circular, about 8 to 10 feet diameter, and provided with twenty-four stone troughs similar to those at Beersheba, but roughly shaped and oval, or quadrangular, instead of round. At the junction of the branch with the main valley stands a great tree known as Butmeh Wady Súr (the Terebinth of Wady Súr). In this, and in the name Deir el Butm (Convent of the Terebinth), applied to a ruin near Tell el Sáfieh, we have the last traces of Emek-Elah, "the Valley of the Terebinth." The tree is conspicuous for a long distance, and is one of the largest in Palestine. There are also several smaller Terebinths along the course of Wady Súr.

Next in importance comes the question of roads. A main line of communication from Hebron to the plain passes along Wady Súr by

this site. An ancient road, with stone side walls, is traceable towards Umm Burj, but is not, as shown on the map, the Roman road from Eleutheropolis to Jerusalem. Lastly, an important road leads up to Súrif and Bethlehem, and thus on the east, west, north, and south, with Bethlehem, Beit Jibrin, Tell el Sáfieh, and Hebron, there are ancient and main lines of communication.

Conditions numbers one, four, five, and six, are therefore satisfied, but the others are more important.

As regards the district, this site is about three miles south-east of Socoh, and rather farther south of Jarmuth, which, in the order of the list, is its natural position. As relates to the cities of the Libnah district, it it about three miles from Keilah, and eight from Mareshah, being, indeed, just on the border between the two districts.

We turn, then, with interest to the two last questions—the Cave, and the name.

There is no great cavern at the ruin in question, no such lofty chambers as at Beit Jibrin; no halls with stalactitic columns, as at Umm el Tuweimín; no winding galleries, as at Khureitún. This is precisely why the site seems most probable. Such caverns are at the present day carefully avoided by the troglodytic peasantry. The dampness, and the feverish character of the atmosphere, the size requiring many lights, the presence in the darkness of scorpions and bats, seem to prevent the large caves from being ever used as habitations. The caves which are so used are much smaller, being about the area of an ordinary cottage, some twenty to thirty paces across, lighted by the sun without, and more or less dry within. Wherever they occur the roofs will be found black with smoke, and large families are lodged in some, while troops of goats, cattle, and sheep are stabled in others, the smaller being reserved to store grain and straw.

It is in caves of this kind that our site abounds. Round one upon the western slope hundreds of goats were collected. Two moderate caverns exist on the northern brow of the hill, and another farther south. On the opposite slopes of the branch valley a regular line of excavations, all smoke-blackened, and mostly inhabited, extends for some distance. There is therefore plenty of accommodation for the band of outlaws who surrounded David at Adullam.

Finally, as to the name. The ancient site is called, according to the correct orthography, Khirbet el Sheikh Mudhkúr, "The ruin of the *famous* Sheikh." As such we fixed its position with the theodolite in the autumn of 1873. There are, however, low down in the branch valley, some heaps of stones and ruined walls to which the traces of the ancient name seem to cling. We heard it from eight or ten people, and even from Beit Jibrin the situation with regard to Sheikh Madhkúr was described to me correctly. It is pronounced 'Aid el Mieh, which means in Arabic, "Feast of the hundred," and a confused tradition of some feast held on the spot seems attached to it. The name contains all the

letters of the word Adullam (Hebrew, A, D, L, M), and contains none other of vital importance. The change, therefore, to a title having a distinct meaning, may be regarded as only another instance of a well-known law of identification.

If this identification, proposed by M. Ganneau, and, as shown above, so accordant with the requisites of the case, be admitted, new light will be found to have been thrown on the life of David. The whole topography assumes a consistency which traditional sites have destroyed. From Gibeah (Jeba near Mukhmás) David flies southward to Nob, thence down the great valley to Gath (Tell el Sáfieh), from Gath he returns into the land of Judah, then bounded by the Shephalah, most of which seems to have been in the hands of the Philistines; and on the edge of the country between Achish and Saul, Philistia and Judah, he collects his band into the strongest site to be found in the neighbourhood of the rich corn lands of Judah. At the advice of the seer he retires to the hills, and if my identification of Hareth be correct it is but a march of four miles distance. Here, as at Adullam, he was also within easy reach of his family at Bethlehem. At Kharás he hears that the Philistines, whose advance he probably barred when holding Adullam, had invaded Keilah immediately beneath him, and, as in a former paper I fully explained, it is this propinquity alone which accounts for his attack upon the marauders.

Keilah.—In returning to camp we passed close to Keilah, having followed the brook up Wady Súr through a broad green valley of rich soil with low scrub-covered hills on the west, and a fine view of the contorted strata and deep gorges of the high watershed range on the east. I have been asked to describe this site. It is a hill with steep sides terraced and covered with corn, but quite devoid of trees. The terracing, which must have been a work of immense labour, and which, whilst strengthening the site enlarges the arable area on the hill side, is in itself a mark of the antiquity of the site; at the foot of the hill is a well called Bir el Kos (Well of the Arch), from a sort of conduit or arches leading to a cistern beside the well (as well as could be judged from the distance). Lower down the valley is another ancient well, Bir el Suweid, with stone drinking troughs as at Adullam. There are rock-cut tombs at the foot of the hill, and remains of a miserable ruined village at the top. The wady is here narrower, and the ruin hidden in its folds stands above corn-fields in a very strong situation, fully explaining how a town of importance "that hath gates and bars" (1 Sam. xxiii. 7) came to be placed here.

Lieutenant Kitchener took two very successful photographs of Adullam. In both the great Terebinth appears in the foreground. The first shows the ancient site, the Kubbet el Sheikh Mudhkúr and its ruins, the cave on the hill-top and the broad corn-fields of the valley. The second has in the foreground the remains of a small aqueduct which leads from the well and appears to have been used for irrigation. In this plot the well is shown, and the ruins to which the name 'Aid el Mieh applies, as also the caves on the opposite hill.

Libna.—One of the great unsettled questions of the southern plains is the site of Libnah. The indications of its position are few and vague, especially so when it is remembered that out of the cities of which it was the capital, only three had been identified before the present time.

The notices of Libnah are as follows. It was taken by Joshua before Lachish and after Makkedah, and from the regularity of the order in which these sieges occur it may be considered as between the two (Josh. x. 29). In the topographical list of its district it is mentioned first, followed by Ether, Mareshah being the last name in the list (Josh. xv. 42). It was a city of the priests, and as such we should expect from the examination of other Levitical sites that it was in a pleasant situation and had natural advantages to recommend it (Josh. xxi. 13). It is principally famous as having been besieged by Sennacherib in his advance from Lachish (Umm-Lakis) on Jerusalem (2 Kings xix. 8), and it was here apparently that the destruction of the Assyrian army took place, when the "angel of the Lord went out and smote in the camp of the Assyrians an hundred and four score and five thousand."

By Josephus Libnah is mentioned Ant. ix. 5. 1, and Ant. x. 1. 4, but no light is cast on the subject of its position.

By the Onomasticon it is briefly noticed as a village of the district of Eleutheropolis.

In the absence of any more definite information we are obliged, therefore, to fall back on the general position of the district and the place of occurrence in the list of names. From its importance as a royal and Levitical city we should expect a position marked by natural advantages and remains showing the existence of a considerable site. The name signifying *white* leads us also to place it where white cliffs or soil of a light colour, such as is found remarkably in many ancient sites of the Shephalah, are to be noticed.

The only exact clue as yet given exists in the following lists of identifications in the district, of which, I believe, five are entirely new:—

1.	Libnah	Beit Jibrin	C. R. C.
2.	Ether	Khirbet 'Atr	C. R. C.
3.	Ashan	Khirbet Hazanah	C. R. C.
4.	Jiphtah		
5.	Ashnah	Idhnah	C. R. C.
6.	Nezib	Kh. Beit Nusib	Robinson.
7.	Keilah	Khirbet Kila	Robinson.
8.	Achzib	Kussah	C. R. C.
9.	Mareshah	Khirbet Mer'ash	Robinson.

A few words will show the satisfactory nature of these discoveries. Khirbet 'Atr is unmistakably an old site, and the name I have carefully verified. It is about a mile north-west of Beit Jibrin, and shows the usual indications of antiquity in rock-cuttings, foundations, terraces, and ruined cisterns. The same description applies to Ashan some five miles south of Beit Jibrin. Idhnah, the same distance south-

east, is still inhabited, and from this point the names run north and west in regular succession till we arrive at Mareshah, one mile south of Beit Jibrin. The names occur, therefore, in the most direct succession going south, east, north, and returning westward. The district which is so marked is entirely in the Shephalah or low hill country south of the other Shephalah district, of which Adullam and Jarmuth were capitals.

The inference seems to me irresistible that Beit Jibrin was the capital, and that its position between Ether the second, and Mareshah the last of the names, occurring, as I have shown, in a sort of circle, entitles us to consider it as Libnah. The site, still important upon the junction of several main roads, has, as I have before noted, lost its ancient name. We cannot identify it with Gath or with Makkedah, which were much farther north, nor with any but one of the Libnah group.

Situate in a sheltered and fruitful valley amongst olive groves, and (as witnessed by the presses) once surrounded with vineyards, it might well be taken for a priestly city, for, as we have remarked, the Levites generally had a full share of the fat of the land. The great cliffs now burrowed with caves present all round it gleaning patches of white rock, and the soil of its corn-fields is also white and chalky. This peculiarity, if marked in spring, must be ten times more so in the dry summer and autumn.

Beit Jibrin is also on the direct line from Lachish to Jerusalem, that which Sennacherib would probably have followed, lying as it does in the direction of the great Roman road to Gaza from the capital. The site is also between Makkedah (if placed near Ramleh) and Lachish, though not in a direct line. The object of Joshua's campaign was evidently, however, the subjugation of the royal cities, and thus of the districts of which they were the capitals. Thus after the capture of Makkedah the next district easily approachable was that of the Libnah lowlands, the southern plain coming next in order.

The description of the tombs at Beit Jibrin leaves no doubt of the importance of the spot in Jewish times, and although the loss of the name forbids any satisfactory confirmation of the theory here put forward, the determination of the district before so doubtful seems to me sufficient evidence of the correctness of my conclusion.

The modern village of Beit Jibrin does not, however, exactly occupy the ancient site. It lies on the west slope of a low rounded mound or hill called El Mekurkush, which is covered all over its extent of ploughed land with relics of tesselated pavement, pottery, and other indications of former buildings. Numerous coins are found on this spot, of Crusading, Byzantine, Roman, and Greek periods, huge Ptolemies of copper. The *Fellahín* tradition also points to this having been the ancient site, for the name Bab el Medíneh ("gate of the city") is applied to a place on the east side of the mound, where, however, nothing remains to account for the title.

Another curious name is applied to traces of former cultivation—an aqueduct with seven cisterns of good masonry (evidently for irrigation, as seen in various parts of the plain), with ruined enclosures of large stones, rock-cut wine-presses and an oil-press stone, which are to be found west of the village. This piece of ground is called *Bustan el Finsh*. If *Finsh* means, as usually interpreted, *Phœnician*, we have here "the Phœnician garden," but the fellahín say that El Finsh was a Christian king of Beit Jibrin, in which case the name is more likely a corruption of Alphonse. This supposition is strengthened by the same name being applied to the Crusading tower at Keratíyeh which is called Kal'at el Finsh.

Mejdel, April 2.—Beit Jibrin has proved the most valuable camp we have yet completed; 424 names were collected, and 180 square miles surveyed. The majority of ruins are early Christian, and in the low hills they average *three ruins to every two square miles*.

XXXIV.

Ascalon, Ashdod.

Gaza, *April 20th*, 1875.

Since last report another large piece of country has been laid in on the maritime plain. The original and better plan of the campaign would have taken us south from Beit Jibrin, but as the Arabs were all quarrelling, and serious fights had just occurred, it seemed best to remain still in the fellahín country, and to enter the Arab district from Gaza when they had had time to cool down a little.

We therefore camped at Mejdel, some twenty miles west of Beit Jibrin, and thence we have visited Ascalon, Ashdod, Lachish, and Eglon, making a special survey of the first to the scale of 12 inches to the mile. We have connected Gaza with Ramleh and Tell Jezer by triangulation, and obtained some very fine lines across the country and down the sea coast. Our next two camps will give us over 1,000 square miles completed since leaving Jerusalem, and thus our work in about two and a half months will be equal to the total amount surveyed in 1874.

Ascalon.—The site of primary interest in this area is the great English fortress of King Richard, on the border of the sea, and we spent in all five days here surveying, exploring, and photographing. I turned special attention to the questions concerning Ascalon raised by Prof. Pusey, and I believe the correct solution to be as follows:—

In the January number of the *Quarterly Statement* for 1874 subscribers will remember a letter from Prof. Pusey, to which my attention was specially called by the Committee, in which the identity of the Ascalon of Herod and of the Crusades with the Ashkelon of Scripture is disputed. The arguments in favour of this view are both drawn from mediæval

sources, the first being the fact that in 536 A.D. a synodical letter was signed both by the Bishop of Ashkelon and by the Bishop of Maiumas Ascalon, from which it is evident that the two were distinct towns; the second passage is to be found in Benjamin of Tudela, who distinctly states that there was another Ascalon four parasangs from the sea-side town, and traditionally the more ancient, the Ascalon of his time having been built, he informes us, by Ezra. This other Ascalon was at that time (1163 A.D.) in ruins. The value of the traditional information here given is, however, very slight, as Bejamin of Tudela gives identifications of the most extraordinary character throughout his narrative. The passage is of value as corroborating the former in the statement that there were two Ascalons, but the distance cannot be relied on; for whilst the distances of places through which Rabbi Benjamin passed are generally pretty correct, those of places he did not visit are often very much in error. The distances from Ashkelon to Ashdod he makes two parasangs, which would give five miles for the parasang, and twenty miles as the distance between the two Ascalons.

It appears, then, that as far as positive evidence goes, the argument only tends to show that there were two mediæval Ascalons. Which of these was the Ashkelon of Herod or of Scripture is a separate question. The mediæval Ascalons *both exist still*, as we have been the first, I believe, to discover.

We were considerably surprised to find, when working north of Beit Jibrin, that an Ascalon (Khirbet 'Askalón) existed in the hills near Tell Za Kariyeh. At first I thought a false name had been purposely given us, but as I obtained it twice myself, and Corporal Brophy three times, from different witnesses, there is no doubt that it is a well-known site. The termination of the word differs from the name of the sea-side town, which is pronounced *'Askalán*. The site shows remains of an early Christian church or convent, and a great lintel of stone, with a deeply-cut cross in the centre, resembling somewhat the Maltese Cross, lies on the ground. Such lintels are to be found in all that class of ruins which date from about the fifth to the seventh century. The distance from the shore is about twenty-three miles, which would agree with the four parasangs as deduced from the distance to Ashdod, but I am not able to find the length of the parasang given in any book we have here.

Thus we have a simple explanation of the two mediæval quotations. 'Askalón we should judge to have been an inhabited site in the sixth century, but in all probability fallen into ruins by the twelfth.

We may now turn to the question of the ancient site of Askelon. That it should be placed at the Christian ruin in the hills is of course impossible; and our information, though very slight, and restricted to one passage in the Bible, and one in Josephus, seems to me, nevertheless, to point to the Philistine Ashkelon being identical with the mediæval Ascalon. The only passage in the Bible of topographical value as concerns Ashkelon is that in Jeremiah xlvii. 7, where the

prophet speaks of "Ashkelon and the sea-coast," leading one to suppose that the mediæval Ascalon, or Maiumas Ascalon (Ascalon by the sea), is intended. In the absence of any contradictory statement it seems to me also safe to assume that the Ascalon of the later Jewish times was that beautified by Herod; and it can be proved, I think, that Herod's Ascalon was both that of the Bible and that of the Crusaders, for, in the first place, Josephus distinctly states that the Ascalon where the Jews attacked Antonius (Bk. iii. ii. 1) was "*an ancient city* that is distant from Jerusalem five hundred and twenty furlongs." This would be about sixty-five Roman miles. The present Ascalon is only about fifty Roman miles by road from Jerusalem, so that it cannot well be taken to mean any inland town. In the second place, the Ascalon of Herod and Richard are probably the same, for we learn that "for those of Ascalon he built baths and costly fountains, as also cloisters round a court, that were admirable both for their workmanship and largeness," BJ. I. xxi. 11. In the Itinerary of Richard I. we find it mentioned that the builders erected their towers upon ancient foundations, and we find that all along its huge walls great columns of syenite, 15 to 20 feet long and 3 feet diameter, have been built into the masonry as through-bonds. Such was indeed the constant practice of the Crusaders in any place where ancient pillars were to be found, but in such sites as 'Athlít they do not occur; and as the syenite must have been brought by sea from Egypt, we cannot suppose the Crusaders to have first brought these pillars to Ascalon, but must regard them as the remains of Herod's cloisters utilised by those practical masons to whose indifference to archæology we owe the loss of many an interesting monument.

The outcome of this inquiry is, therefore, that the Ashkelon of the Bible, and of Herod, and of the Crusaders, are all one town on the sea-shore, distinguished from another early Christian inland Ascalon by the title Ascalon Maiumas.

This title may, I believe, be best rendered by our English "watering-place," and like it does not apparently apply to a port or harbour only, for the fine springs north of Cæsarea, with remains of a temple and theatre, and of a great aqueduct to the city, still retain the name of Miamás, which is no doubt the representative of an ancient Maiumas, or *place of water*.

Ascalon not only has not, but it may be safely said never could have had a real port. A straight coast-line of cliffs, from 20 to 70 feet high, exists on its sea side, and a strong sea wall was built by the Crusaders against these. The port destroyed by Sultan Bibars must have been an artificial Crusading harbour, of which there are still remains, for a jetty of pillars placed side by side, as at Cæsarea, seems to have run out beneath the sea-gate on the south, a few of those nearest the shore still remaining in place. That it possessed no natural harbour in the middle ages is evident from the following passage, which I quote at length, as

clearly showing that the Maiumas Ascalon of Christian times could not have applied to any properly so called *port*.

"The city of Ascalon lies on the coast of the Grecian Sea, and if it had a good harbour, could hardly find an equal for its situation and the fertility of the adjoining country. It has, indeed, a port, but one so difficult of access, owing to the stormy weather in which the army reached it (Jan., 1192), that for eight days no vessel could enter it. . . . At last, when the weather became more favourable, some ships entered the harbour with provisions; but the storm returned and the army began again to be in want."

At the present time a small brig is lying off the coast taking in a cargo, but it is unsafe for ships to approach too near, and the wreck of one vessel lies on the sand a little north of the ruins. It is evident that the harbour cannot have been much better in Crusading times, when English sailors were unable to bring food to the starving army. It is true that the sand has covered a great deal of the ruins, but the existence of a *creek* is rendered, I think, impossible, by the unbroken line of cliff, at the foot of which low reefs run out into the sea.

Next to the question of the Maiumas comes that of the sacred lake of Derceto, but of this we could find no traces, unless the name of the modern village north of the ruins El Júra, "the hollow,"—generally applied to an artificial reservoir or pond,—be supposed to preserve a tradition of the site. The village itself stands pretty high, but there is a low tract full of beautiful gardens between the ruins and the houses.

Ascalon is one of the most fertile spots in Palestine. The great walls, which are well described by William of Tyre as a bow with the string to the sea, enclose a space of five-eighths of a mile north and south, by three-eighths deep. The whole is filled with rich gardens, and no less than thirty-seven wells of sweet water exist within the walls, whilst on the north, as far as the village, other gardens and more wells are to be found. The whole season seemed more advanced in this sheltered nook than on the more exposed plain. Palms grow in numbers; the almond and lemon-trees, the tamarisk and prickly pear, olives and vines, with every kind of vegetable and corn, already in the ear, are flourishing throughout the extent of the gardens early in April. Only on the south the great waves of ever-encroaching sand have now surmounted the fortifications and swept over gardens once fruitful, threatening in time to make all one sandy desert, unless means can be found to arrest its progress.

The ruins of the town are now covered with some 10 feet of good soil. Marble pillars, inscriptions, and bits of architectural ornamentation, are constantly dug up, and all the good stones are carried to Jaffa or Gaza, and sold for modern buildings. Thus the Roman and Crusading ruins are at once hidden beneath, yet not protected by the soil, but disappearing piecemeal, and scattered over the country. At every well a pillar shaft is placed on its side, and worn into furrows by the ropes, whilst a capital or base is used to tie the cord to. It was on one of these that we

found the only fragment of inscription we could see anywhere, being carelessly written as follows :—

ΠΙΚΡΑ.

In the north quarter of the town, on the higher part of the cliff, stands what is traditionally known as the church. Its true bearing is 98°, and part of the apse can be just seen, but the ruin has been so defaced by the abstraction of its ashlar that it was impossible to make a plan. A few pillar bases of white marble have been excavated, and lie together within the ruins. There is a curious fact connected with them, each base has masons' marks, intended apparently to show what shaft belonged to each, but in three cases these marks were all Phœnician letters in three groups.

I do not remember ever to have seen similar marks in any building in the country.

The walls of Ascalon are almost all that now remain, and are in many places covered over with sand. They are not of very great thickness, but strong towers at intervals give flank defence throughout. In the south-west corner is a postern, and on the east the principal gate, leading sideways into the interior, through a projecting return in the wall. The stone used is the soft crumbling sandstone of the cliffs, and the masonry is very small throughout; but against these natural disadvantages the splendid workmanship of the time has triumphed, and the stones are set in a cement so hard that with thick beds and a mass of hard shells from the shore the whole forms a sort of concrete seemingly indestructible. The base of a turret, 20 feet diameter and 6 feet high, lies on the east, overturned like a gigantic cheese, and wherever huge blocks have fallen or walls breached and gutted stand up like skeletons, it is evident that the hand of man, and not the lapse of time, have ruined these magnificent piles so hastily yet so solidly constructed.

In the account of the building of Ascalon ("Itin. Ric.," Book V., chap. vi., p. 262.—*Bohn*), five towers are enumerated as having names, viz. :—1, The tower of "the Maidens;" 2, of "the Shields;" 3, the "Bloody Tower;" 4, the "Admiral's Tower;" 5, the "Bedouin's Tower." Of all these traces still remain, and it would be curious to identify them.

One curious tradition connected with Ascalon remains to be noticed. It appears, according to our guide, a very superior old sheikh, that thirty years ago the fellahín, digging outside the walls near the cemetery, which surrounds a modern wely, close to the eastern gate, found a broad slab of stone, and on raising it they discovered what seems from the description to have been an embalmed corpse, with sword by side and ring on his finger. Frightened by the glare from his eyes they reclosed the tomb, and as the violator died soon after they concluded it was a prophet, and built a rude tomb above the slab, now used as a wely, or place of prayer. We had some thought of digging up this body, probably a Crusading hero, especially as we were told at first that it was a mummy, but there seemed many objections to touching a place held sacred, and close to

modern tombs, which were sufficient to deter us if we could have discovered the true spot and had no respect to the supposed reward for so sacriligeous an exploration.

Ashdod.—Jamnia, Gaza, and Ashdod being inland towns had each a post or small suburb on the sea-shore. That of Ashdod is not marked on the maps. Ashdod itself presents very little of interest, it is a large mud village, with numerous palms on the east and a great marsh on the west; a sand-hill shelters the village from the sea wind, and is covered with gardens fenced with cactus. On this hill, according to Dr. Porter, the temple of Dagon stood. A large khan, now in ruins, but thirty years ago still in use, lies near the village, and a very fine sarcophagus of Roman period just behind it, at the principal wely. Lieut. Kitchener took a general view from the south, but the site is not well adapted for effective views.

Leaving Ashdod itself, we struck west, over the great sandhills, which have now reached the village. Upon the sea-shore we found what is no doubt the ancient Maiumas, an extensive ruin with fragments of tesselated pavement, cisterns lined in cement, and on the north side a Crusading castle of masonry similar to the fortifications of Ascalon. It measures 180 feet N. and S., by 144 feet E. and W., and has a round tower at each corner and two flanking the central gate on the west, whilst seemingly there were two others on the east, but one has disappeared. A curious inscription was found by the non-commissioned officer on one of the stones of the foundation on the north-west, being well and sharply cut as below —possibly the crusading name of the place: EAOM.

It is said that there is a greater depth of water at this point between two reefs north and south of the castle than anywhere else along the coast, and boats touch here in preference to Ascalon. In fact, we found on bathing that the shore sloped more rapidly here than in other places where we have swum. It seems, therefore, natural to place the Maiumas of Ashdod here, especially as the present name of the ruin, *Minet el Kal'ah*, "Harbour of the Castle," shows that at some time or other there was a port here. This discovery completes the list of the ports along the coast of Philistia.

Crusading sites.—The great plain so famous for the exploits of Samson and of David in their contests with the Philistines and with the nomadic tribes became, in the twelfth century, the theatre of war between the English and Saladin, and the Crusading chronicles are full of names which represent the garbled versions of Arabic names adopted by the new conquerers of the land. Many of these it is impossible to identify from want of indications, but a few may be placed as below:—

Furbia.—This fortress was between Gaza and Ascalon, and was held by Richard in 1192. We cannot hesitate to identify it with the modern Herbia, on the road between these. The foundations of a Crusading castle still remain on the south side of the village.

Gadida.—This town or village was the scene of King Richard's contest with a furious boar, to which the Chronicles devote a whole chapter

("Itin. Ric.," v. 31, p. 280.—*Bohn*). It was visited from Ascalon, and would most probably be the present *Khirbet Jedeiyedeh*, about three miles south of Keratíyeh, in the middle of the plain.

Galatia.—This was a strong fortress, afterwards destroyed by Saladin. Leaving Blanchegarde (Tell el Sáfieh), "and advancing all night by the light of a splendid moon, they arrived at Galatia; there they rested a short time and sent to Ascalon for provisions" ("Itin. Ric.," v. 3, p. 303.—*Bohn*). The town of *Keratíya*, in which are remains of a strong Crusading fort, agrees well, as pointed out by Lieut. Kitchener, with the position required for Galatia. It is about eight miles from Tell el Sáfi, and ten from Ascalon. Corporal Armstrong subsequently found another ruin about three miles north, called Jelediyeh. The name is more nearly the same, but the distance from Tell el Sáfi seems rather too small.

In conclusion I may give here the identification of the castles destroyed by Saladin in 1192, those with the star being new identifications.

Galatia	*Keratíya.
Blanchewarde	Tell el Sáfi.
Plans	*Kalensawieh.
Mœn	*Tantura.
St. George	Lidd.
Ramala	Ramleh.
Belmont	—
Toron	Tibnin.
Ernuald, or Arnald	*Latrún.
Beauveoir, Belvoir	Kaukab el Hawa.
Mirabel	Ras el Ain.
Castle of Baths (near Ramleh and Lydda)	—

As regards Toron and Beauveoir it is, however, possible that there may have been two of the name, and that they also stood in the maritime plain, as do the remainder.

XXXV.

Gaza, Gerar, and Makkedah.

At the time of commencing this report the spring campaign of 1875 is rapidly drawing to a close. This campaign completes southern Palestine as far as Beersheba and Gaza (the boundary being the great valley running from Beersheba to the sea), with the exception of about 200 square miles north of Beersheba, in the country of the Teiaha Arabs. A very fierce contest is at present going on between this tribe and the Azazimeh, the central point of the fighting being Beersheba

As the season was getting late for staying in the plains, it seemed on the whole best to fill in the more interesting country lying south of Ramleh, and to leave this bit of desert country until the Arabs have either made peace or have been exterminated.

The total amount now surveyed is 4,430 square miles; some 1,400 only remain, as far as I can roughly calculate, to be filled in.

Since last report we have examined several sites of interest, especially Gaza, Umm Jerrár (supposed to be Gerar), El Moghar (first proposed, I believe, by Captain Warren as the site of Makkedah), Yebna (Jamnia), the valley of Elah, the valley of Sorek, and several other important places.

Inscriptions.—Gaza and its neighbourhood abound in Greek inscriptions; very few, however, have escaped M. Ganneau. I give four which are, I believe, new, though not of great value.

No. 1, upon a granite column, forming the east goal of the Meidán or racecourse of Abu Zeid. It stands close to the road leading south-east from El Muntár, and is just a mile, or 1,000 ba'a, from the western goal, also close to the road. These pillars, originally taken from some great building probably of Roman times, are half buried in the soil; the first two lines of an inscription were alone visible, deeply though rudely cut. They were noticed by Lieut. Kitchener and Corporal Armstrong, who excavated the remainder of the text. The racecourse is said to have been laid out by the Saracens 700 years ago; the pillar must apparently have passed through an intermediate period of existence, when it was used as a tombstone.

ΔΟΜΕCΤΙΚΟΥ
ΥΠΕΡ ΔΟΜΕ
CΤΙΚΟΥ Υ
ΙΟΥ ΑΕΘΗ
ΚΕΝ ....

No. 2, a curious fragment of inscription, with contractions, evidently Christian, on a piece of marble about 18 inches long, lying beside a rude wely, or cenotaph, on a sandy top, some four miles south of Gaza. The place is called Sheikh Rashed, but the inscription is probably brought as an ornament from somewhere else. It runs as follows, being broken off on the right:—

+ ΗΛΙΝ

No. 3 forms the cover of a well, or *sebil*, in the courtyard of El Khudera, a small mosque in the village of Deir Belah. A round hole 10 inches diameter has been cut through the centre of the inscription, which is much worn in the upper line.

ΕΤΕ . . . . . .
ΜΑΤΡΕ··ΑΡΑΡΙΑΝΟ
ΑΠΟ · ΙΝΗCΙΟΥΛΙΘ

The stone is partly covered with mortar on the right, so that the lines may originally have extended farther.

No. 4, a slab on the floor of the same mosque, near the cenotaph of St. George. The first line is almost obliterated by the feet of visitors. It runs as below:—

ΙΤΙΨΘΙCΛΡΑΤC ... Ω
ΑΜΑΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΩΡΩ
ΟΥ ΕΚ ΤΩΝ.ΙΔΙΩΝΕΤΧΑ

This, from the expression ἐκ τῶν ἰδιῶν, would also appear to be a funerary inscription.

Deir Belah.—This village, at which the two last inscriptions occur, lies beyond the boundary valley. I visited it in company with Mr. Prichett, who is engaged in founding schools at Gaza, which promise to be very successful. His native catechist was the first to discover the stones, and pointed them out to us. The mosque in which they occur is a small building about 18 feet long by 12 feet wide, having three alcoves or small apses on the east side. The cenotaph of Mar Jirjis, or El Khudr, stands in it, placed north and south, contrary to ordinary Mohammedan fashion. The building itself bears 115° or 25° south of east. On the floor, besides the slab-bearing inscription No. 4, is another large slab, 6 feet long, having two crosses of the Maltese form, with A and Ω each side of each cross. There is also another device which, as well as we could make out in the dark, was in the form of a mitre, with its pendent ribbons. From this chamber, which bears some resemblance to a small Christian chapel, an ascent of three steps leads to the outer cloister. Another fragment of inscription is built into the upper step, but the letters are very rough, and only the word απο could be deciphered. There are fragments of marble built into the walls of the court, two of which resemble parts of an altar. A cornice, well cut and floridly ornamented, is built-in face down, and only just visible. The traditional history of this mosque is, that it stands on the site of a large convent which had a chapel, and this accounts for the name Mar Jirjis, or El Khudr, which never occurs, as far as I can find, except on Christian sites. Mr. Pritchett informs me that, according to the people of Gaza, Deir el Belah (Convent of dates) is a modern name, arising, no doubt, from the great number of date palms surrounding the village, and more abundant here than in any place I have visited in Palestine. The old name seems to have been Deir Mar Jirius, and the Bishop of Gaza, who resides at Jerusalem, bears the additional title of Bishop of Mar Jirius to the present day. The population of the village is, however, now entirely Mohammedan, though a Greek Khuri (or Curé), and a few Greek Christians, lived here within the half-century.

Deir Belah is supposed, with reason, to be the Fortress of Darum, south of Gaza, and near the Egyptian frontier. This fortress is often mentioned in the history of King Richard's adventures in Philistia, and was rebuilt by him after having been taken. No remains of fortification

exist, nor is the site remarkably strong, but it was undoubtedly at one time in Crusading hands, and fragments of their work may be seen in scattered pillar-shafts and in the remains of the chapel. The name is apparently lost or contracted to Deir, but a curious relic of it remains, as we found, and as has been previously noted by Robinson. The southern road from Gaza passes by a spot just at the edge of the town, to which the name Bab Dárún, or *Gate of Darum*, still applies. This southern road passes near Deir Belah on the east.

Gaza.—The population of Gaza is said at one time to have outnumbered that of Jerusalem. There are now 18,000 inhabitants, of whom the majority are Moslems, 500 only being Greek Christians. The remains of antiquity are not of any great interest beyond the curious church, now a mosque. The principal question with regard to Gaza is the situation of the ancient town, concerning which opinions differ. I am disposed to think that it stood on the hill where the main part of the present town stands; broad mounds surround this eminence, and appear in the middle of the buildings. Judging by comparison with other sites, these probably mark the site of former fortifications. Considerable suburbs have grown up round this position on the north, south, and east. Mohammedan tradition points to a spot south of the town near the Bab el Dárún, where seven pillars have been placed as Mohammedan tombstones. This place is said once to have been within the city, some say at its centre. Others, again, say that Gaza once extended to the hill of El Muntar (the traditional hill to which Samson carried the gates, and probably the real site). It is, however, certain that the town stood on a hill in the time of Alexander, and there seems no good reason for supposing the site to be changed. It appears that a considerable town stood on the sea-shore in early times, and this, no doubt, was the Maiumas Gazæ, which—like the Maiumas Ascalon—was a separate ecclesiastical see. Pillar-shafts, marble slabs, glass, and tesseræ, are constantly found. In the middle of the sand-hills, near the shore, is a beautiful garden of lemons, surrounded by a mound, which seems to mark the site of this second town; near it is a ruined jetty on the sea-shore, probably denoting the site of the port.

Another tradition gives great antiquity to the olives round Gaza. These magnificent groves, which form a long avenue on the north of the city, are said to have been planted by the Greeks, and it is asserted that at all events since the coming of the Saracens some 700 years back not a single new tree has been planted. It is quite possible that there is some truth in this, for many of the trees stand on huge roots, and have evidently sprung up from the remains of former trunks now rotted away. Thus, considering the immense age to which olive-trees attain, it is possible that the trees may be the natural descendants of former planted olives.

The great church is described by Robinson as older than Crusading times, and possibly dating back to the fifth century. The arches are, however, pointed, and the western door is of mediæval character and

very fine. Of this, as well as of the interior, Lieutenant Kitchener took a photograph. The church consists of four bays, having a total length of 110 feet. The nave is 22 feet wide in the clear, the north aisle 13 feet. The south wall has been pulled down by the Moslems and a second arcade added on this side, but its outer wall is not parallel with the axis of the church. A mihrab is placed at the east end of this, and is again skewed in such a manner as to point approximately to the Kibleh. A wall has been built across the east end of the nave and north aisle, probably at the place where the steps of the main apse commenced, though it is possible that the church extended one bay farther. The result of these alterations is that no one of the three apses remains.

The style of the capitals is Byzantine, and the semi-pillars of the clerestory are much heavier than in most Crusading works, but the arrangement of the windows and roof is mediæval. The piers supporting the clerestory are of a fine brownish marble, and the mouldings of the bases are very well cut. The diagonal chiselling so remarkable in one style of Crusading masonry is here very distinct and well executed. Upon the clerestory pillar nearest the east end on the north side is a curious device cut in low relief on the shaft. A squeeze was, I believe, taken by M. Ganneau, and I did not therefore give it special study. A wreath surrounding the golden candlestick and a tablet with three lines of inscription are all that can be seen from below. The Crusaders seem to have been in the habit of using this device, for a capital belonging to the Church of Gabriel at Beit Jibrin lies near the Bir el Hammam, having a representation of the golden candlestick on the boss. It is, however, curious and unusual to find a device cut on the shaft of a pillar, especially as no other in the church is so ornamented.

A small Greek church exists in the Christian quarter of the town; we visited it, but it seemed to have nothing ancient about it, and the whole structure, with the exception of two Byzantine columns which look very much out of place, is extremely rude. The Greek priest, however, informed us that it was 1,440 years old, and had been built by a Byzantine emperor. There is also said to be a register 1,000 years old in the church, and another, dating even earlier, and said to be written on canvas, is reported to be in possession of the Bishop in Jerusalem.

Gerar.—Perhaps the most interesting question in this part of the country is that of the site of Gerar. This ancient town, the dwelling-place of Abraham and Isaac, is indicated as being between Kadesh (on the east) and Shur (on the west). In later times we find that Asa, having defeated the Ethiopians near Mareshah (2 Chron. xiv. 13), drove them back on the road to Egypt as far as Gerar. To Eusebius Gerar was known as being twenty-five Roman miles from Eleutheropolis, or from Beit Jibrin. Doctor Robinson was here, as usual, the first to hear of the existence of the name, and Mr. Rowland, travelling from Gaza to Khalasa, came upon a broad valley called Jorf el Jerár (the banks of Gerar), which he identifies with the valley of Gerar in which Abraham

lived. To Vandevelde the ruin of Umm el Jerár was pointed out as situate near Tell el Jema, but he does not appear to have visited the spot.

Even Murray's new map is defective in this part of the country, and the run of the valleys is incorrectly shown. The great Wady Ghuzzeh runs from Beersheba to the sea some six miles south of Gaza. At about the same distance from the city, rather towards the east, on the north bank of Wady Ghuzzeh, and in the position with regard to Tell el Jema indicated by Vandevelde, we found the site of Umm Jerrár, which is thirty English miles in a straight line from Beit Jibrin. The Jorf el Jerrár must be applied to the precipitous earthy banks of this great valley, the bed of which is here about 200 yards wide. The word Jorf is applied throughout Palestine to similar mud cliffs. If we attach any value to the indications of the Onomasticon, which seem to me to be generally very correct, we cannot put Gerar farther south. The valley is wide enough to explain how the patriarch is said to pitch his camp in it, and at the time we visited the spot a large encampment of the Terabin Arabs was settled on the north bank. One great question remains, that of the wells of Abraham. We could neither find nor hear of any wells in the neighbourhood, or indeed any nearer than Beersheba. The springs, too, marked on the maps are equally fabulous. The Arabs, who are extremely numerous, supply themselves with water by digging in the bed of the valley, when they come upon it. These excavations, or small ponds, are known as *Hafireh*. The valley has evidently been entirely formed by water-action of considerable violence, and it receives the drainage of an immense area, as its head is close to Hebron, whence it runs by Beersheba to the sea, a distance of over sixty miles. It is, indeed, the longest watercourse in Palestine. When I was last at Hebron a stream three feet deep and some ten to fifteen feet broad was rushing along its upper course. On reaching the plain the water sinks into the soil and supplies the living wells of Beersheba as well as the Arab Hafíreh lower down its course. We are accustomed to consider Abraham's wells to have been very important and durable works, partly because the stone-work of the wells at Beersheba is generally attributed to the Patriarch. The Arabic inscription which we discovered in the principal well at Beersheba shows this to be a fallacy, and I think we have evidence that Abraham's wells at Gerar were not very important works in the fact that, though made in a friendly country, they had become filled up in the time of Isaac, who was obliged to re-dig them. It would seem to me, therefore, that the Arab Hafíreh sufficiently fulfil the requirements for the site of Gerar as far as water supply is concerned.

The name as pronounced by the Arabs is Umm el Jerrar, with the *shuddeh*, or mark of the double letter, over the first *r*. This is important. *Jerar* in Arabic signifies *waterpots*, and it might be supposed that the title "Mother of pots" was given in consequence of the huge mounds of broken pottery visible on the wady bank near at hand. Jerrár,

according to the dictionary, comes from a root meaning *collection* or *drawing together* (Jarr), as in "*Askar jerrár*," "a numerous army." Catafago gives, however, another meaning, "*a seller of waterpots.*"

The Hebrew גרר is supposed by Gesenius to mean "a residence," but Buxtorf derives it from a root having a meaning similar to that of the Arabic Jarr.

A more important objection to the identification consists in the character of the site. No ruins are visible, and the swell of ground to which the name applies is covered with a poor crop of barley or with coarse grass. There are over a dozen cisterns scattered round, being constructed of small stones laid in thick beds of cement of reddish colour mixed with pottery and sea shells. The cisterns are circular, with domes above some four or five feet diameter and six or eight feet deep. They are now used for storing corn, but from comparison with other ruins I am inclined to think they once were intended for rain-water, especially as a sort of channel in cement leads to one of them, and the remains of a trough are to be seen at another. This peculiar form of cistern is, as far as our experience goes, confined to the southern plain, and we can scarcely hesitate to ascribe it to Crusading times, partly on account of the character of the mortar and the use of sea shells peculiar to Crusading works along the coast, partly from the occurrence of such cisterns in exclusively Crusading sites. I have sought in vain for evidence of greater antiquity, and the conclusion most natural is that these cisterns represent, as in other parts of the plain, works for irrigation dating from the middle ages, and possibly the natural successors of similar works of greater antiquity.

The heaps of pottery on the north bank of the valley are very curious. They are semi-consolidated by the infiltration of mud, and some ten feet high, as seen in section on the side of the cliff. There are fragments of every size, and handles of pots were visible. The material is a red colour, differing from the modern black pottery of Gaza. Similar heaps are visible farther west at Khirbet el 'Adár, and both might be worth excavation. It is remarkable that the sand-hills from Gaza to Yebna are strewn throughout with similar red pottery.

The only other relics noticeable at Umm Jerrár are a few marble tesseræ (generally a sign of a church or convent), and some bits of glass.

So far, therefore, there is nothing indicative of an ancient city at Umm el Jerrár, unless it be the pottery heaps which may mark an old mound, such as exists at every town and village in Palestine where refuse is thrown out, and which at the same time forms generally a sort of boulevard or pleasure-ground, on the summit of which the elders of the place sit smoking and chatting in the cool of the day. There is, however, an ancient site of no small importance immediately south of Khirbet Umm Jerrár, which bears the name of Tell Jema. It is an enormous mound, crescent-shaped, about 100 yards on

the diameter, situate on the brink of Wady Ghuzzeh on the south side. Its steep sides are covered with broken pottery, and it appears as a very conspicuous point from the north and east. Here, if anywhere in the vicinity, the ancient Gerar would seem to have stood; nor is this a solitary instance of the name lost to its proper site still lingering in the immediate neighbourhood. The names of Adullam, and of the Altar Ed, may be cited as other instances, and there seem to me reasons for supposing that the true site of Eglon is to be sought at Tell el Hesy, immediately south of 'Ajlan, where a fine supply of water and large mounds indicate a natural site for a great city. These notes on the site of Gerar may prove of interest, but, like many others of the more ancient cities, the locality can hardly be considered capable of demonstration, and can at best be conjectured.

Makkedah.—One of the most important towns of a Royal Canaanite city, the site of the first great victory of Joshua's Judæan campaign, has escaped more than the merest conjecture, and even Captain Warren's suggestion for its identification has not, as far as I am aware, appeared in print.

Makkedah is to be sought in the plain country of Judah, and in the neighbourhood of Beth-Dagon and Naameh, names which immediately precede it in the topographical list. It must also be in the neighbourhood of one or more caves, and should show indications of an ancient and important site.

There is another consideration which limits the position of Makkedah. Joshua, who had marched from Gilgal to Gibeon, a distance of some twenty miles, before dawn, pursued the defeated Canaanites down the valley of Ajalon to the plain, whence they fled to Azekah and Makkedah. Makkedah was taken, and the five kings hanged by sunset, and thus we cannot place it more than some eight or ten hours from Gibeon—that is, under thirty miles. It should also be on the natural route southwards from the point where the valley of Ajalon enters the plain. These considerations would lead us to place Makkedah near the north boundary of Judah, a situation also indicated by the fact that it occurs last in a list enumerating the towns in regular succession from south to north.

The site of El Moghar, a village on the north side of the valley of Sorek, fulfils in a remarkable way all these conditions, as may be briefly enumerated thus:—

1st. El Moghar is immediately south-west of Ekron, one of the cities on the north tribe-line of Judah.

2nd. It is not far east of Dejjun, the true site of Beth Dagon, as fixed by M. Ganneau. It is five miles south-west of N'aaneh, in which, I think, we can hardly fail to recognise the ancient N'aameh.

3rd. It is an undoubtedly ancient site, as evidenced by the rock-quarrying, and by the existence of tombs with the loculi running in from the sides of the chamber.

4th. As far as careful examination has allowed us to determine, it is the only site in the plain where caves occur. The houses are built over

and in front of caverns of various sizes, and small caves called Moghair-Summeil exist in the face of cliffs north of the village.

5th. It is some twenty-five miles from Gibeon in a line down the valley of Ajalon, and close to the main road north and south from Gaza to Lydda.

6th. It is not far removed from Azekah, which, as will be shown later, was some ten miles farther east.

7th. Its name signifies in Arabic *the caves*. The Syriac version of Josh. x. 10 furnishes, however, a link between the modern Arabic and the ancient Hebrew, as the word Makkedah is there rendered Mokor, which approaches the Arabic Moghr, of which the plural form is Moghár, or more commonly Moghäir.

These various points, when taken together, seem to me to form a pretty satisfactory identification, placing Makkedah in the district in which Mr. Grove, and all the best authorities, have contended that Makkedah should be sought. Vandevelde's identification at Summeil, some twelve miles farther south, depending on the reported existence of a cave of which we could find no traces, and on the existence of ancient ruins which do not, however, date beyond the middle ages, falls to the ground, as would be naturally expected from its great distance from the site of Gibeon.

A short description of this remarkable site may be of interest. The broad valley of Sorek, the home of Dalilah and the scene of the return of the ark from Philistia, expands upon leaving the hills into a flat plain of rich corn-land bounded by the hills of Gezer on the north, and by rolling uplands separating it on the south from the next great water-course, the valley of Elah. About half-way along its course, from the hills to the sea, a sort of promontory runs out from the uncultivated downs around Ekron (now, as then, the property of nomadic tribes settled among the peasantry). The valley has, in fact, made a way here through a bar of soft sandy stone, and a corresponding promontory or tongue on the south melts away into the southern uplands. The northern is the highest, and is divided into three tops, the last of which falls abruptly and supports a large mud village clambering up the steep eastern side and crowding round the caves. Another village, and a remarkable tell or knoll immediately north of it, form the termination of the southern promontory. The first village is El Moghar, which I propose to identify with Makkedah; the second, Katrah or Gatrah, which, as I shall have occasion to explain later, seems to me the true site of Gederoth, afterwards known as Kedron.

North of El Moghar are gardens hedged with cactus extending over the whole hill-top. South of it are ancient olives, also walled with cactus, whilst east and west extend fine cornfields and broad flat expanses of brown ploughed land.

The slopes of the promontory are steep on the east, and in part precipitous. It is in this respect unique, for in no other part of the plain do the sandstone cliffs thus appear. Hence it is, I believe, the only

place where caves are to be found. One of these, now broken away in front, has, curiously enough, *five* loculi rudely scooped in its sides. It is the only cave I saw with such loculi, and an enthusiast might contend that here we have the very place of sepulture of the five kings who "were found hid in a cave at Makkedah."

The site seems well to answer the requirements of the case. Hidden from view, and perched high above the route of their pursuers, the five sheikhs would have looked down in fancied security on the host hurrying beneath on the high road to Azekah and Gath and other "fenced cities." The fact of their discovery and capture before the taking of the town would show that it is to one of the caves outside the city that they must have retired. These caves are generally very small; some are broken away in front, and others filled in; but two at least can be pointed out wherein five men might crowd, and the entrances of which could easily be blocked with the "great stones" which lie scattered near. No trees now exist near the caves, though olives and others are to be noticed south of the village; but the number of trees throughout this part of the plain is much greater than farther north, and the most enthusiastic could scarcely hope to discover those which in the time of Joshua supported the corpses of the five royal victims.

Yebna.—The site of our fourth Philistine camp is also a famous place, and one of those mentioned on the north tribe-line of Judah, which reached the sea at the mouth of Nahr Rúbín, or River of Reuben—so called from the reputed tomb of Reuben on its banks. In the Book of Joshua the name is Jabneel, and later, Jabneh or Jamnia.

There is nothing of great interest in the modern village, with the exception of the so-called church, a building 49 feet long, by 32½ feet broad, interior measurement. The fellahín say it was originally a church, but it has neither apse nor western door, and is divided into two walks of equal width, with a kibleh niche on the south side—not, however, in the centre of the bay. The main door is on the north, and has a pointed arch. The windows are of the loopholed form found in the white tower at Ramleh, and the whole construction, including the minaret at the north-west corner, bears a strong resemblance to the Ramleh White Mosque, which was built in A.D. 1318. A well-cut inscription stands in, evidently *in situ*, on the north wall of the minaret, as is well seen in Lieut. Kitchener's photograph. It runs as follows, being taken down by our scribe:—

"In the name of God the merciful, the pitiful. Founded this minaret the blessed, the poor, before most high God, the pious the Emir great and (lion-like) Soliman el Nasri, in the fourth month, in the year eight and thirty and seven hundred."

The minaret therefore dates at the close of the fourteenth century, subsequent to the Ramleh mosque. The remainder of the building is possibly of the same date. The mosque of Abu Harírch, on the west side of Yebna, contains two Arabic inscriptions dating earlier than the one above translated. The one contains the names of *Bibars* and of

Khalil ibn Sawir, Wali of Ramleh, with the date 673 A.H.; the other the name of "*Melek el Munsúr Kalawún*," and the date 693 A.H.

Yebna, like Ashdod and Gaza, had its port, but of this very little remains. Riding down the course of the Nahr Rúbin by the Saint-house of Reuben, where is a courtyard cool and delicious from the shade of nine huge mulberry-trees, I found the ruins some little way south of the river mouth. Very little masonry remains, except on the south, where a square mass of retaining wall shows evidence of Crusading workmanship. This tower is known as Khirbet Dubbeh. Farther north are three ancient tombs in the face of the sandy cliff, one having eight loculi running in from its sides. These are called by the natives El-dekkakin ("the shops"), a title often given to such tombs from the fellahín fancy that the loculi, like the cupboards of a modern bazaar, were used to store the goods of the shopman who sat presumably on the sort of divan which often runs round three sides of the chamber.

The port would seem to be naturally better than any along the coast of Palestine south of Cæsarea. There are, however, dangerous reefs hidden beneath the waves, and visible from their dark colour in the beautifully transparent water. A very little trouble in clearing a passage through these would, I imagine, render the Minet Rúbin a better port than Jaffa, as the reefs are farther from the beach.

The river, even in May, was full of water for several miles above the shore, and deep pools exist throughout its course. It is fed by springs at and near the foot of the hills, and is the most formidable natural barrier between the Aujeh and Wady Ghuzzeh. It therefore forms along the latter part of its course such a natural boundary as would be required between the possessions of Judah and of Dan.

CLAUDE R. CONDER, Lieut. R.E.,
In Command Survey of Palestine.

THE SITE OF THE CITY OF ADULLAM.

BY C. CLERMONT-GANNEAU.

FOUR years ago I was led to place the city of Adullam at Ayd el Mieh, a ruin situated north-east of Beit Jibrin, not far from Shuweikeh (the ancient Shocoh), on the road from Jerusalem to Beit Jibrin. I communicated this identification to several persons while it was still a conjecture, especially to Capt. Burton and Mr. C. F. Tyrwhitt Drake,* on their journey to Jerusalem in 1871; to M. Renan, who wished to communicate it to the Academy of Inscriptions; and, later on, to Lieut.

* "Unexplored Syria," 1872, ii. 294. "Adullam . . site. M. Ganneau pointed out the true site farther east, at the Khirbet Adalmiyeh, pronounced by the people Ayd el Miyya, at a short distance from the well-known Bayt Nutof."

Conder,* to whom at the same time I pointed out several other observations made during the same excursion, when I first saw Ed el Miyé; among others the tomb of the *Daughter of Noah* and El Azhek (=Azeka?) at Ellar, and the sculptured cavern and the inscriptions at Khirbet Za Kariyeh, and several names of localities marked in my route. I propose to state the considerations which decided me to adopt hypotheses in which I am the first to detect certain weak points.

I.

The first appearance of the name of this city in the Bible is found in Genesis xxxviii., in connection with the episode of Judah and Tamar. Judah, who was with his brothers at Hebron, went *down* to Hirah the Adullamite, and married the daughter of the Canaanite Shuah.† Later on, the patriarch, accompanied by his friend Hirah,‡ goes up to Timnath to the sheep-shearing. According to Knobel, this Timnath has nothing to do with the Timnath of the tribe of Dan (=Tibneh, not far from Ain Shems), but would be the Timnah cited by the Book of Joshua (xv. 57), with Hak-kain (Cain) and Gibeah in the *mountains* of Judah.

At the time of Jerome another opinion prevailed, for the Onomasticon (s. v. Thamna) identifies this Timnah, where Judah went for his sheep-shearing, with a great town, Thamna, situated between Jerusalem and Diospolis, and belonging to the common territory of Dan and Judah. The passage is, perhaps, corrupt; at all events, considering the evident theory of the author, we ought to read Eleutheropolis (Beit Jibrin) and not Diospolis (Lydda).§

* When I arrived at Jerusalem, at the end of 1873, MM. Conder and Drake had just visited the great cave of Umm el Tumaymiyé with Mr. Neil and Dr. Chaplin, thinking that it was the place pointed out by me as the possible Adullam. But I never visited this place. Mr. Drake rectified his error in a subsequent note.

† There is a village, Esh'u, not far from the neighbourhood of these events. The name may possibly preserve some recollection of Shuah, who would be of importance in the genealogy of Judah.

‡ The Septuagint and the Vulgate translate Ro'è, shepherd, which seems to agree with what follows.

§ Nevertheless the Onomasticon places the Timnath Serah of Joshua in the territory of Dan, which adds to our difficulties. Besides, whether the Onomasticon understands in this passage the Timnath Serah of Ephraim (which is extremely improbable) or the Timnath near Ain Shems, neither of these localities is found between Diospolis or Eleutheropolis and Jerusalem, or even on the road from one to the other. If, on the other hand, the Onomasticon has in view an unknown Timnath, that grouped in the Book of Joshua between Gibeah and Hak-kain, the neighbourhood of Gibeah would bring us to the middle

Judah, before arriving at Timnath, meets Tamar at "an open place," or a place called Enaim,* or possibly Patah Enaim, on the road which leads to Timnath. It has been supposed that Enaim was no other than Enam, mentioned in the first group of the towns of the Shefelah (Joshua xv. 36), which would imply the identity of our Timnath with the Danite Tibneh. As we do not know from what place Judah went to Timnath, we cannot deduce from the account much light on the position of Adullam, as some writers have been disposed to admit. The city itself is not once mentioned, except as being the natal place of Hirah.

II.

The Book of Joshua gives more precise indications. In the list of Canaanite kings defeated by the successors of Moses (xii. 15), the king of Adullam figures between those of Libnah and Makkedah.

Farther on (xv. 36) we see that the city of Adullam belonged to the territory of the tribe of Judah; it forms, with Jarmuth, Socho, and Azeka, a group apart among the fourteen cities placed in the first line in the Shephalah.

I once proposed that the Shephalah might be considered, not as the plain, as is generally understood, but as the low country, the second slope of the great mass of hills which forms the territory of Judah and its level undulations in the plains. This idea was adopted by Mr. Tyrwhitt Drake and others to whom I submitted it. I still think it is perfectly borne out by the facts. Shephalah has properly the sense of *low*, and not of *flat*: the word under this form corresponds with the Arabic *asfel*, in the feminine *soufla*. The vulgar form of *souffla*, *siffla*, is applied at the present day in a geographical sense: thus, the village *Ellār es sifla* (the low) as opposed to *Ellār el foka* (the high), is placed near several cities indicated as being in the Shephalah; and about a mile and a half north-east of Zanoua (Zanoah of the Shephalah) there exists a little village called Sifla or Sifala, which may possibly still mark the eastern limit of the Shephalah.

of the road from Jerusalem to Eleutheropolis, only it would be inadmissible to extend the territory of Dan so far. The passage in the Onomasticon leaves the question open whether it meant Timnath near Dan or Timnath near Gibeah.

* The Onomasticon, apparently making itself an echo of the current Rabbinical traditions of the time, indicates Enan as a desert place near the Thamna already quoted, with a spring—whence its name—and an idol held in great veneration. St. Jerome adds that the Hebrews explain the expression by *bivium*, a word which he adopts in the Vulgate. Perhaps it is best to read "in the entrance of Enaim." Farther on, the people of the place are spoken of, so that it was inhabited. It is to be regretted that Jerome does not explain the nature of the worship paid to the "idol" in his own time. Perhaps it was one of the Canaanite deities—an Astarte, patroness of the class to which Tamar belonged.

We must not, therefore, persist in seeking Adullam in the plain, nor ought we to be astonished if we find the place as high up among the hills as Eshtaol, Zorah, or Zanoah, belonging like itself to the Shephalah.*

III.

In the First Book of Samuel we learn that David, pursued by the unrelenting hatred of Saul, and no longer able to rest at Gath, took refuge in the cave of Adullam. His brothers and his relations *came down* from Bethlehem and joined him there. The little group of exiles was increased by the accession of "every one who was in distress, and every one that was in debt, and every one that was discontented," and of such materials the future king formed his first army. On one occasion, David having expressed a desire to drink "of the water of the well of Bethlehem that is at the gate," three of the bravest of the *Gibborim* successfully passed through the lines of the Philistines and brought him the water for which he longed (1 Chron. xi. 19; 2 Sam. xxiii. 13).

It is clear from the double account of this episode that there was no question of supplying a lack of water, but of satisfying a longing for home quite intelligible in an exile. I insist on this fact because some have been led to understand from this touching episode that Adullam must be near Bethlehem, which is *possible*, but not necessary.†

The narrative in both the Book of Chronicles and that of Samuel clearly implies that Adullam had a strategic importance, so that it is quite natural to find it among the cities fortified by Rehoboam (2 Chron. xi. 7) between Bethzur and Shocho.

It is mentioned in Nehemiah (xi. 30), between Jarmuth and Zanoah, as having been inhabited after the captivity by the sons of Judah. Judas Maccabeus here celebrated the Sabbath at the head of his army

* On the other hand, many names of towns certainly situated in the plain are nowhere classed among those of the Shephalah. The existence of the cities of the Shephalah in the highlands has so much embarrassed commentators, that some of them have had to suppress the difficulty by a gratuitous invention—viz., that the word Shephalah is not Hebrew at all.

† This is the opinion of Thénius (Die Bücher Samuel, p. 103). The same commentator supposing that David, after placing his parents in safety in Moab, came back to the cave of Adullam, and that it is to this locality that the words of Gad apply ("Abide not in the hold; depart, and get thee into the land of Judah"), concludes that if the *city* of Adullam was in the territory of Judah, the cave was without, in that of Benjamin. But is it sure that by Eres Yehoudah the text means the territory of the tribe? Is it demonstrated that the events followed as Thénius interprets them? Are there more reasons for placing the cave of Adullam in the tribe of Benjamin than in that of Dan, for example? One thing, however, is quite clear—the cave and the city were quite close to each other; both were in the land of Judah, and both in the Shephalah.

after defeating Gorgias, who fled to Maresha, near Beit Jibrin (2 Macc. xii. 38).

Lastly, in the chapter of Micah (chap. i.) which contains a curious series of *jeux de mots* on different towns of Palestine, Adullam is associated with Mareshah in one of these alliterations, with an apparent tendency to isolate the first syllable of the word, Ad-Adullam.

IV.

If we pass from the Bible to profane texts, we have to remark in Josephus the transcription of the name as Adullamê (Antiq. vi. 12, 3).

The Onomasticon gives us indications on the position assigned to it by tradition in the fourth and fifth centuries, which are extremely involved. We must try to clear them up.

"Eglon, which is also called Adullam, in the tribe of Judah, where king Debir was slain by Joshua. It is still a large town in the region of Eleutheropolis, at ten miles (Jerome says twelve miles) distance."

The expression προς ανατολας may mean, according to the well-established practice of Eusebius, rather the north-east or south-east than direct east. Gezer is thus placed in an easterly direction with regard to Emmaus, ἐν βορειοις—in the north. Now I have found it at Tell el Jezer, which is north-west of Emmaus. The plural appears to mark intentionally a direction intermediate to the cardinal points.

How does this confusion between Eglon and Adullam arise? The error must be assigned to a neglect of the Hebrew text, because no Greek copyist could confuse ΕΓΛΩΝ and ΟΔΟΛΛΑΜ. In fact, the fault is due to the Septuagint, which has taken in Joshua x. 5, עגלן for עדלם, and has written οδολλαμ (or οδολλα). The *gimel* was taken for a *daleth*, the two letters in the alphabet then in use resembling each other very strongly, and the substitution of the *Mem* for the *Nun* was thus almost forced.*

It is thus that the strange contradiction in the passage of Eusebius may have been caused. Eglon is, without doubt, Khirbet Ajlan, about twelve Roman miles almost due west of Beit Jibrin. Eusebius, harassed by his supposed obligations to the text of the Septuagint, and preoccupied by another locality east of Beit Jibrin, where he placed Adullam, applied to Eglon what he really intended for the former city. Jerome, in his turn, recognising the impossibility that two different places should be the same, and having rightly ascertained that the distance of Eglon from Eleutheropolis was twelve miles and not ten, corrects the narrative of Eusebius, but preserves the orientation applicable only to Adullam. In

* The *Gimel* in the ancient inscriptions that I found at Jerusalem was written very much like the *Daleth*. Lower down, in Joshua xv. 39, the Septuagint gives correctly ΕΓΛΩΝ.

another passage (s. v. χασβι), the Onomasticon says that Chasbi (Chezib), where the wife of Judah gave birth to Shelah (which is probably the Achzib of the group in Joshua xv. 37), is shown in a desert place near Dollam, or Odollam, in the confines of Eleutheropolis. Procopius of Gaza (Commentary on Joshua)—who seems to have only reproduced a portion of the Onomasticon, with a correction of the distances—after stating that Yerimoth is at the fourteenth mile from Eleutheropolis, near Eshtaol, adds, without any indication of the connection in his own mind, the name of Adullam.*

Lastly, the Onomasticon places Makkedah, a city celebrated for the cavern where Joshua killed the five kings, eight miles from Eleutheropolis in the east, πρὸς ἀνατόλας; this is within two miles the distance and the position attributed to Adullam=Eglon. We may imagine that the cave has produced a new confusion between the two cities, like that which we have pointed out above, and we may put down the measure of eight miles to the account of Adullam. It is, in fact, difficult to believe that Adullam and Makkedah, which belong to two distinct series in the lists of Joshua, were no more than two Roman miles apart.

V.

In working upon data so uncertain it is clearly difficult to determine the exact position of Adullam. Nevertheless, a tradition—we may boldly call it a legend—sprang up in after years, which placed the cave of Adullam at the immense grotto known as Moghuret Khureitun, not far from Bethlehem and quite close to Tekoa. The description of this cave has been given a hundred times. The legend was only concerned with the cave, and did not trouble itself to establish the proximity of a city. (See Tobler, II. 509 *et seq.*)

It has long been proved that the name of Khureitun applied to the cave, to the adjacent ruins, to a spring, and to the valley below, is nothing else than that of the ascetic Chariton, who founded in this place one of his two Lauras, called Suka, fourteen stadia from Tekoa. The origin of the word Suka has been a good deal discussed. It is from the Syriac. Tobler and Sepp explain it by the Hebrew *Succah*, a *tent* or *house*. I think that they are wrong. We should have in that case a χ and not a κ in the Greek transcription, the *kappa* implies a *koph* in the original, and *upsilon* an *i* rather than an *o* or an *ou*.†

Now why did tradition get hold of this cavern called κρεμαστον and

* περὶ τὴν Εσδαὼλ κώμην Ὀδολλὰμ. Perhaps the phrase may be separated by a stop before the last word.

† We have also Σουκα. So the Septuagint gives us σωχω and σωχων for Socho. So in the Arabic the convent Mar Saba is called Deir es Sik. In the Annals of Eutychius (II. 108, 242, 243) the convent of Chariton and that of Saba are called the old and the new Deir es Sik.

make Adullam out of it? Probably on account of its remarkable dimensions and its proximity to Bethlehem. Perhaps the name of *Suka* went for something. It is probable that this belief took its origin at the time of the Crusades; it is certainly as old as that date; and the confusion of *Suka* with *Sik* and Socho would have been impossible for a Semitic race, but the Crusaders would be helped in their identification by an apparent resemblance, the city of Socho being associated with Adullam in the Bible narrative. This mistake would be quite in accordance with their habits.

We cannot, as critics, accept such a fable. But we ourselves have not been more fortunate. Our own topography has proposed for Adullam in succession, Deir Dubban, Beit Alam, Beit Doula, &c.

Not one of these hypotheses answers to the conditions of the problem.

First of all, the name of Adullam must be considered separately. Whatever its etymology, it is certain that, however preserved by the Arabs, it would have undergone considerable modifications. For example, it might have been Adlûn, under which name we should at once recognise it. This name exists, but unfortunately it is attached to a place very far from the territory of Judah, on the coast of Phœnicia, between Tyre and Sidon. These caprices of Onomastic echoes are not rare in Syria.

We should expect a deviation of the final syllable into *oun*, *în*, or *an*; a disappearance of the *d* by assimilation with the double *l*; and a transformation of the *ain* into *ghain*, and perhaps into *h*.

Starting with this principle, I was struck by the resemblance of the Hebrew word Adullam with that of a ruin called Ed el Miyè* situated on the road from Jerusalem to Beit Jibrin, not far from Shuweikeh or Socho.

In 1871 I resolved to visit the place in order to verify conjectures resting upon nothing more than appearances which might be vain, and I included this place in the programme of a little excursion—the same in which I discovered Gezer. The following are some of the notes which I made on the journey:—

"Starting from Jerusalem on the 30th of January, in a pelting rain, we pass (my companion being Frère Lièvin) by Bettir, Houbin, and Ella el Foka. Facing this latter place, on the other side of the valley, towards the south, exists a place called El Azhek,† whose name singularly resembles that of the city, hitherto unknown, of Azeka. It is a

* It will be found that Lieutenant Conder spells the word Ayd el Mieh.

† Azeka, we know, is a *crux interpretum*. If we fix it at Ellar, there would be among other advantages—(1) That it would remain in the group of Joshua xv. 36. (2) It would agree with the fixing of the Philistine camp (1 Sam. xvii. 1) if Vandevelde's Damûn is Dommim. (3) It would be half-way between Jerusalem and Beit Jibrin, in accordance with the Onomasticon. Khirbet Za Kariyeh has been proposed; one might also think of Beit Iska and of Khirbet Haska.

rocky plateau, surrounded by hills of greater elevation, with no other trace of ruins than a great circle of shapeless stones called *Dar el Kibliyé*.

"Then Khirbet Hanna, Khirbet Harik esh Shekhaleb, with the tomb of Noah's daughter, Khirbet Jairieh, the Spring of Tannur (legend of the Deluge), Ellar es Sifla, or Bawaij (mediæval ruin). From thence we directed our course due south-east, and arrived a little before sunset at the broad valley on one of the sides of which are the ruins which I wished to see. They were called Ed el Miyè, or Id el Miyè. Like most of the ancient sites in Palestine, they have no determined character, but appear to cover a fairly large extent of ground, as well as could be made out among the late grass with which they were covered; there is also a large well, surrounded with several troughs, where they bring the cattle to drink.

"The place is absolutely uninhabited, except in the rainy season, when the shepherds take refuge there for the night. These peasants are here at present in large numbers.

"We climb the hill at the foot of which these ruins extend. Other ruins lie on the top of it, and a small monument dedicated to the Sheikh Madkur.

"The hill is perforated with natural grottoes, where the shepherds are already housed for the night. It is easy to imagine David and his companions lodged in these large caves; from them one commands the plains and valleys to a great distance round, and a *ghazzia* once effected, this natural fortress would offer a sure and commodious shelter.

"As we journey without tent, with our horses alone, and with what our *khordjes* hold, we seek a shelter in the rocks, and leave our beasts in a neighbouring cave. But the fellahin, who make no difficulty about number, protest against the profanation by our animals of a grotto sacred to Madkur.

"We install ourselves as well as we can in this rustic sanctuary, taking certain precautions, for the country is at the moment a prey to famine. We divide our provisions with the little circle of curious visitors who surround us, near a great fire lit in the *liwan*. The bread is a welcome gift to these poor wretches, who have been living for weeks on leaves of khoubbeije (a kind of mallow). So that I get from them without any trouble valuable information on the place. Local tradition says that the city of Ed el Miyè once—but a long while ago—suffered total destruction and a general massacre. Men, women, children, nothing was spared. They massacred, among others, eighty couples of brothers, reminding one of the eighty couples of (*Gozot*) brothers, priests, spoken of in the Talmud.

"Sheikh Madkur—some call him Mankûr—was the son of the Sultan Beder. His descendants are settled at Beit Natif—they have built and keep up the wely.

"We pass the night with a little distrust of the vagabonds round us—hunger is a bad adviser. But Sheikh Madkur, or the ancient divinity

whom he represents, watches over us, and the morning arrives without accident. We set off immediately, casting one rapid glance at the hill, which is full of caves, tombs, and cisterns, and covered over with great blocks of cut stone. We have to get as quickly as possible to Beit Jibrin, for the sake of our horses, who have had nothing to eat but grass."

Since that moment the idea that I had seen the ruins and the cave of Adullam dwelt continually in my mind, without, however, becoming a serious conviction. During my last visit to Palestine I proposed, by an excursion in the region of Beit Jibrin, to make another journey to Ed el Miyè. We found the place completely deserted, the whole country being ravaged by a typhoid fever. I ascertained afresh that the plateau was covered with ruins, and had once been the site of a city. Among the tombs cut in the rock was one with a cross.* We explored the large cavern near the wely. We were at a loss because we had nothing to give us light, when, to our surprise and joy, we discovered in the wely a packet of candles still in their blue paper cover, and deposited by some pious hand for the purpose of lighting the sanctuary. Decidedly the good genius of Sheikh Madkur visibly protected us. I made no scruple about appropriating one of these providential candles, and I subtituted a small piece of money for the benefit of the pious donor whose offering I had been obliged to use. We were thus able to visit the cavern in all its extent without risk of breaking our necks, as had nearly happened to me already at Shiha.

In a halt at Ellar I picked up a new legend on Ed el Miyè which enables us to fix the orthography of the name.

The day of the great feast of Mussulmans (id) a terrible fight took place, a long time ago, between the hostile *hammoulés* who lived in the city. A hundred (miyé) of the inhabitants were slain. Since that time the place has been called the *Feast of the Hundred.*

It is curious to remark that the explanations in vogue among the rabbis of the fourth and fifth centuries on the etymology of Adullam tended also to separate it into two parts.

St. Jerome, in fact, who was the pupil of the Jewish doctors, translates in his *De Nominibus Hebraicis*, *Adullamitem* by *testificatem, sive testimonium aquæ; Adullamim*, by *congregatio eorum;* and *Odollam* by *testimonium eorum.*† He merely separates the first syllable to assimilate it to the Hebrew *ed*, witness. As to the second part, to which he once gives the name of *water*, he has in his mind the Hebrew *maim*. Some of these contradictory interpretations would be very well explained by a form analogous to the Arabic Ed el Miyè.

In spite of the striking resemblance, I have a certain scruple about connecting Ed el Miyè with Adullam. Generally the Arabic names give

* A detail of some importance: if the place was inhabited at the Christian epoch there is a chance of its having preserved its ancient name, and one understands how a survival of the name was found by the writer of the Onomasticon.

† Cf. also on Amwas, Emmaus, *Quarterly Statement*, July, 1874, p. 163.

us contractions rather than the reverse. We should have to admit that Ed el Miyè is connected with Adullam by means of the ethnic form in the feminine *Edelmy, Edel Miyè.*

Ed el Miyè is about eight Roman miles from Beit Jibrin, as nearly as can be fixed from existing maps, and north-east of this city. It is exactly the distance of the position assigned by the Onomasticon to Mellkedah; but we have seen that this passage had in view Adullam, placed elsewhere at ten miles.

It is certain that in placing Adullam at Ed el Miyè we not only approach the statements of the Onomasticon, but also satisfy very nearly all the conditions demanded by the texts quoted above, including the expedition of the three *Giborims* who went to fetch water from Bethlehem. The journey from Ed el Miyè to Bethlehem and back, about twelve leagues, would be nothing for the light-footed mountaineers who surrounded David. Those who consider the distance too much have only to remember that it is related as an exploit, and that the fatigue has to be added to the risk. Let us not forget, besides, that when David as a boy killed Goliath he carried provisions to his three elder brethren from Bethlehem to the camp of the Israelites—that is to say towards Sodom, in the valley of the Terebinth—nearly as far and in the same parts as Ed el Miyè.

All these coincidences, then, give a high degree of *vraisemblance* to the identification, but from that to a certainty, such as we have in Gezer, is a long step. I ought to add, in conclusion, without attaching any other importance to it, that two localities might also pretend to the honour of representing Adullam, if we confine ourselves to the phonetic point of view—Ellar, already named, and Beit Ellia, a little to the east of Ed el Miyè; but the phonetic point of view is not anything in topography, and besides, even from these considerations, Ed el Miyè has the advantage.

ANCIENT JEWISH GRAVES.

Letters from Dr. Titus Tobler.

The following letters from a well-known veteran in Palestine Exploration will be welcome to all who desire accurate knowledge on an important branch of Jewish archæology. They refer to papers published in different numbers of the *Quarterly Statement* by Major Wilson, Lieut. Conder, and M. Clermont-Ganneau.

I.

Munich, 24*th March*, 1875.

The different kinds of graves are described in the *Quarterly Statement* in such a manner as to justify me in drawing your attention to them.

I recognised four kinds of graves (*Golgatha*, 1851, p. 216, &c.),

which I closely investigated, in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. 1. The *common* grave, sunk in the floor of the grave-chamber, which the visitor enters. 2. The *sliding* or *oven* grave, in the Talmud *Kok* (plural *Kokim*), a rectangular sloping space cut into the wall of the rock, extending six feet horizontally, sufficiently wide and high to admit of a corpse being pushed in. This is my reason for thus naming it. 3. The *shelf* or *bench* grave, a shelf or niche, six feet long, cut in the wall of the rock; and upon this the corpse was laid, even when it had first been placed in a coffin. 4. The *trough* grave. If a trough was cut in the shelf just mentioned, this made a trough grave, into which the corpse was laid. This division of mine was accepted by the German *savants*, and I have also read in a French work, "Trois ans en Judée, par Gérady Saintine" (Paris, 1860, p. 219): L'examen . . . nous permet . . . d'établir quatre catégories des chambres funéraires; les chambres à four avec ou sans rainure dans le milieu, celles à tablettes, celles à auge, enfin celles à couche souterraine." I must make the very unwilling confession that I, who first of all and most thoroughly examined and described the ancient Jewish graves, am not altogether clear about the reports which I read upon these graves in the *Quarterly Statement*—a most valuable and indispensable publication. Captain Wilson's description of the varieties of graves, in the *Quarterly Statement*, 1869, p. 66, &c., interesting as it is, would not sufficiently clear up the matter if it were not accompanied by a sheet of diagrams; I should not have understood "deep *loculi*" and "sunk *loculi*"—at least not the first. Lieut. Conder's paper in the *Quarterly Statement*, 1873, pp. 23, 47, 141, is not clear enough. It is hardly justifiable to use the Latin word *loculus* (*locus in sepulchro*) for an ancient Jewish grave; or even, according to Drake (*Quarterly Statement*, 1873, p. 58; 1874, p. 71), to help it out with "pigeon-hole *loculus*," because the ancient Jewish grave—which, as far as I know, one might seek for in vain in the west, setting aside the modern mural construction, such as at Barcelona—is a *Kok*; I consider that this definite term should always have the preference, if my term *sliding* or *oven* grave is less suitable, which I freely admit. Therefore, if loculi were found in Rome, they could not be designated as *Kokim*. In the cemetery of S. Callistus, and the catacombs of S. Sebastiano, the loculi *shelf graves* were introduced like the bunks of a ship. The term "pigeon-hole *loculus*" could not be applied here either, because it is not a *columbarium*, or niche of that sort. M. Clermont-Ganneau, in the *Quarterly Statement*, 1874, p. 108, expresses himself more accurately, "loculi in the form of ovens." If I had not written first to Jerusalem, and another time to Nazareth, I should not yet have solved the problem as to which sort of graves were meant. It is surely an obvious necessity that the varieties of graves should be accurately and similarly designated by the reporters. I avoided the subject of the rock chambers or the rock grave-structure for fear of diffuseness. The *Quarterly Statement*, from the wide survey obtained, contains much valuable information upon them.

I venture to draw your attention to something else. Starting from the point of view that it is very important if possible to obtain correct texts of the authorities, I edited the "Itinerarium Burdigalâ Hierosolymam," the "Peregrinatio S. Paulæ," the descriptions of S. Eucherius, of Theodosius (Theodorus), of Antoninus Martyr, of S. Willibaldus, of the Commemoratoriam, of Bernardus Monachus, of John Wirziburgensis; not to mention Theodoricus and the "Citez de Iherusalem." See "Descriptiones Terræ Sanctæ," Leipsic, 1874, p. 525. I see that the contributors and editors of the *Quarterly Statement* have taken no notice of all this. You know how much trouble Clermont-Ganneau gave himself to obtain the text of John of Würzburg (*Quarterly Statement*, 1874, pp. 156, 164). At last he got it, but not the one which I had revised, which is to be recommended in preference to the "Templum Domini" on account of some important improvements. As I considered it important to edit more correct texts, I think that it would also not be unimportant for your readers to look into them. At the same time I have the honour of sending you my treatise against Mons. de Saulcy, which contains some mention of the ancient Jewish graves.

GEORGE GROVE, Esq. TITUS TOBLER.

II.

MUNICH, 17*th April*, 1875.

I was delighted to get an answer from you, and it gives me much pleasure to continue the correspondence.

I take the liberty of drawing your attention to a few other matters. Prof. E. H. Palmer, who visited Beit Jibrîn, mentions the inscriptions; but, if I am not mistaken, does not speak of the very curious rock columbaria, which, I might almost say, are exact patterns of those which one sees built (*gemauert*) in Rome and Pompeii. It would, therefore, be desirable, if the engineers reach this point, that the right "terminus" should be chosen. In my third journey (p. 131) I recognised an evident columbarium there—one can plainly see the niches for the urns.

In the *Quarterly Statement* it is supposed that there was a fortress on the Quarantana mountain. To corroborate this you will see the same thing mentioned in my edition of Theodoricus (1863, p. 72). In this author may be found mention of two other castles—Sapham, and one which is not named, and is difficult to find in the authorities (p. 98). In "The Exploration of Palestine, from its foundation to Dec., 1870," one finds (p. 15) the following: "At a point 600 feet distant from the south-western angle, the Tarik Bab es-Silsileh passes into the Haram through the Bab es-Silsileh, over *what had always been supposed to be an earthen embankment.*" I examined this cave in 1846, and described it to the Fund in my memorandum (Denkblättern, p. 41 ff.), where I positively declared (p. 141 f.) the Suk Bâb es-Sinsleh (Silsileh) to be a *bridge*. In my "Topography of Jerusalem," Bk. 1, p. 206, I further

proved that this so-called causeway (Williams) of later topographists served as a bridge (pons) at the time of the Crusades, and that a street led under it from the Stephen's Gate (now Damascus Gate) to the Tanners' Gate. This I inferred from the Citez de Iherusalem, in the incorrect text of Beugnot, as I then knew it (1853).

I am surprised that this incorrect Williams-Beugnot text should still be used in England, since as early as 1854, in the "Topography" just mentioned, in 1859 in the "Recueil des Historiens des Croisades," and in 1860 in De Vogüé's "Eglises de la Terre Sainte," better and here-and-there thoroughly correct texts are to be found. A recently revised text—the first critical one—is to be found in the "Descriptiones Terræ Sanctæ" published by me.

I am not acquainted with the space to the south below the temple plateau and the mosques, between the steps under the Aksa mosque and the western wall of the Haram esh-Sherîf; perhaps I overlooked it in Morison's "Recovery of Jerusalem," in "Our Work in Palestine," or in the *Quarterly Statements;* of the latter, in spite of all my efforts, I have not been able to get hold of the first number.

In "The Exploration," the map is entitled "Thirty square miles of Judæa, showing the amount of our present knowledge of the country" (1870). A few things are wanting in this map. For instance, Ain Attân, which I found at Wâdi Biâr; Ain Kasâs, near the so-called tanks of Solomon; the important ruin of the convent at Dêr es-Seiâr; the Wadi Saîch, below the Wâdi Rahîb; the Wady Tawâhûn, below the Wâdi Artâs; in fact, the Arabic names of valleys generally apply only to very short distances. Compare letterpress and map of my "Denkblättern," and of my Third Journey.

GEORGE GROVE, Esq. TITUS TOBLER.

PHILISTIA.

THE following suggestions with regard to possible identifications of ancient sites, not hitherto recognised, the results of my reconnaissance of the plain of Philistia in 1867, are put forward with some diffidence.

May, 1875. CHARLES WARREN.

The word Shephalah* may be found in 'Allâr es-Sifla (or 'Allâr of the low lands), in contradistinction to 'Allâr el-Fôka (the upper).

Page 162, *Quarterly*, P.E.F., 1871.	Joshua xv.
Abu Kabûs	Cabbon.
Kebu	Cabbon.
Eilin	Dilean.

* See p. 170.

Beshît	Bozkath.
Shâmeh	Sharaim.
Huleikât	Gath.
Bir en Nahl	Enam.
Hatta	Ether.
Beit Affa	Jephta.
B'alin	Dilean.
Ibneh	Libnah.
Moghara	Makkedah.

SITE OF LIBNAH.

THIS ancient city was one of the most important of those attacked and taken by Joshua, and its subsequent history leads to the surmise that it occupied a strong and commanding position; its site, however, has hitherto escaped discovery, although it is suggested as being represented by Arâk el Menshîyeh (Vandevelde), by Tell es Safieh (Dean Stanley), and by Beit Jibrin (Lieut. Conder).

Jabneel and Jabnah are each only mentioned once in the Old Testament, and are recognised as being one and the same place. I propose to identify these names with that of Libnah, the modern equivalent being Ibna, a ruined city situated on a conspicuous hill on the sea-coast between Jaffa and Ashdod.

The Jabneel of the Old Testament is given as Lebna in the LXX., and again the Libnah of the Old Testament is in one instance given in the LXX. as Lemna.

We have Jebneel, Jabnia, Jamnia, Jafneh, Iamnia, Ibelin, Ivelyn, Libnah, Lebna, Lemna, Yebna, and Ibna as various changes upon the old words Libnah and Jabnah, the modern word Ibna representing both these early forms.

Libnah was given over to the priests, the sons of Aaron, and subsequently we find Jamnia to be the great seat of Hebrew learning, where the Sanhedrim sat.

The modern Ibna occupies a very commanding position on the great road along the coast of Palestine; it is 170 feet above the level of the sea, and has an ancient port attached, as had Gaza, Ascalon, &c. It was in the time of Josephus one of the most populous cities of Palestine. In modern days the encroaching sand has swallowed up the once fertile sea-board of Philistia. The position I thus assign to Libnah appears to agree well with the account of its attack by Joshua.

May 14, 1875. CHARLES WARREN.

NOTE ON SHAARAIM.

In Joshua xv. 33-36 there occurs the following group :—

"Eshtaol, Zoreah, Ashnah, Zanoah, En-gannim, Tappuah, Enam, Jarmuth, Adullam, Socoh, Azekah, Shaaraim, Adithaim, Gederah, and Gederothaim, fourteen cities with their villages."

Ashnah = Asalin, quite close to Sara.

En-gannim = Um Jina.

Tappuah = Artuf.

In my paper on Adullam will be found some notes on Azeka.

As to Shaaraim, I am very nearly convinced that we find it in the ruin Sa'îrè, which is not marked on any map, but is in Robinson's lists district of Arkab between Shuweikeh (Socho) and Beit Netif—*i.e.*, precisely in the region required.

C. Clermont-Ganneau.

AVEN HASH-SHETEYAH.

In Joma v. 2 we read, "there was there (in the Holy of Holies) a stone from the time of the first prophets. It was called Sheteyah, and its height from the earth was three fingerbreadths." Upon this stone the ark would appear to have been placed, and it was a notion of the rabbis that the earth was founded upon, or rather *from*, it. In the Toldoth Jesu the Aven Sheteyah is affirmed to be the stone which the patriarch Jacob anointed at Bethel. Upon it was said to be written the nomen tetragrammaton, the ineffable name of God, and lest any one should learn the letters of this name, and become possessed of the wondrous powers which that knowledge conferred, two dogs were placed near the sanctuary, which, if any one had succeeded in learning the letters of this name, barked so fiercely at him as he was passing out as to cause him immediately to forget it. It is said that Jesus having entered, learned the name, wrote it upon parchment, and placed the parchment in an incision which He made in His thigh, the skin growing over it on the name being pronounced, and having escaped the canine guardians of the place, thus became possessed of the supernatural powers which He afterwards manifested.

Rabbi Schwarz (Das Heilige Land) identifies this wonderful stone with the Sakhrah, and after remarking that it is now raised about 10 feet above the ground, adds, "so that since that time (when Joma was written) the temple hill has been lowered nearly 10 feet."

It seems strange that this stone should have been confounded with Zoheleth, yet in the Jewish manual arb'a taanoth (tisha b'av) this identity is suggested.

J. C.

Jerusalem.

With reference to preceding remarks of Dr. Chaplin, I have to suggest that the "Little Sakhrah," now lying at the northern end of the Haram enclosure, may possibly be the stone which Jacob anointed at Bethel, and which is supposed to have been placed in the Sanctuary of the Temple at Jerusalem.

The Sakhrah, on which the Dome of the Rock is built, is a portion of the solid rock of Mount Moriah, only elevated about 24 feet above the general level (2,420 feet) of the Haram enclosure. It is doubtful, therefore, whether its highest peak could have been on so high a level as the floor of the Sanctuary of the Temple.

C. W.

NOTE ON NOB.

THERE is a certain amount of evidence as to the position of this place, which not only escaped me when first writing on the subject, but also appears to have escaped the notice of Major Wilson, whose argument in favour of another site is confined to the one requisite that Nob should be on the direct road to the capital.

Major Wilson mentions only two passages in the Bible as referring to Nob, but he has omitted the most important, Nehemiah xi. 32, where, in a systematic enumeration of towns in Benjamin, we get the names, Anathoth, Nob, Hananiah, Hazor, consecutively. This would place Nob between Anáta on the east and Beit Hanína, close to which is Khirbet Hazúr on the west.

Major Wilson says that, "of the others [towns enumerated Isaiah (x. 28—32)] nothing is known." For these towns—viz., Laish, Gallim, and Gebim—I have already proposed identifications which seem to me probable—viz., for Laish, which is evidently near Anathoth, *L'Isawíyeh*, the next village to *Anata;* for Gallim, "the heaps," *Khirbet el Soma*, "ruin of the heap;" for Gebim, *el Jib;* and possibly we may add, for Madmenah, near Gebim, *Bir Nebála*, close to *El Jib*.

All these indications point to the correctness of the site given by Mr. Grove for Nob—viz., the village of Sh'afat, the modern name having a meaning almost the same as that of Nob. This site also fulfils the other requisites: 1. It is in full sight of Jerusalem. 2. On the direct route. 3. A conspicuous point. This last requisite is in accordance with the expression *Zophim—i.e.*, the place whence the tabernacle was visible. As the second tithes were allowed to be eaten in all the Zophim, it is only natural to suppose a site would be chosen so that a good view of the tabernacle might be obtainable at a considerable distance.

These arguments do not in any way interfere with the identity of Mizpeh and Nebi Samwil, for which I contended in the original paper,

and I hope to show that the balance of evidence is in favour of this identification. That Nebi Samwil should be identified with some name besides that of High Place of Gibeon, Major Wilson himself allows.

"It should be remembered," he writes, "that Nebi Samwil is one and a quarter miles from el Jib (Gibeon), a distance so great that it would lead us to expect the place to have its own distinctive name rather than one derived from Gibeon."

C. R. C.